BULLETIN OF THE INSTITUTE OF TRADITIONAL CULTURES MADRAS

PART—II

IN COMMEMORATION OF THE TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF UNESCO 1966

Even as the United Nations General Assembly represented the political will of the world community, Unesco tried to represent the finer and the deeper sides of human life, and indeed might be said to represent the conscience of world community.

— Jawaharlal Nehru

UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS
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ADRAS

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PART—II

COMMEMORATION OF THE TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF UNESCO 1966

e Organization's true vocation is not utilitarian but ethical. cation, science, culture and mass communication are not ends hemselves for Unesco but simply the ways and means of a itual undertaking and moral effort that constitute its true sion and that were in the forefront of its founders' concerns.

—René Maheu

UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS
1966

Institute of Traditional Cultures
Madras

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PREFACE

This number of the Bulletin, as announced in the preface to the previous part (1966 Part I) is dedicated to commemorating the Twentieth Anniversary of Unesco, a note on whose major achievements appeared on pp. v to vii of that part. Besides this dedication, the Institute has brought out a booklet which is a brief report of an ethnographic field study of a South Indian community called the Saurashtras and that is also in commemoration of the Twentieth anniversary of Unesco.

The usual plan of the *Bulletin* observed in the earlier numbers has been somewhat altered in this issue. The first section on Articles has been enlarged; as many as eight of them have been included. The first two articles, viz., Human Resources Development through Unesco and the Philosophy of Unesco and the third Mutual Understanding of East and West (reproduced from *The Hindu dated* 29-9-66) deal particularly with the philosophy and achievements of Unesco. As Dr. N. Subrahmanian points out the aims and aspirations of the U.N.- depend basically for their success on the role of Unesco. He writes: "So the most ambitious, difficult and basic of all the aims of the various specialized agencies of the U.N. belong to the Unesco, which tries to seek out those dark alleys of the human mind and enlighten them with the willing cooperation of all civilized mankind" (p. 207). The other articles included in the section cover the continuation of a study of Hinduism and Secularism; the marriage customs and ceremonial prohibitions as gleaned from a Sinhalese manuscript, *Tahanci Kavi*; a survey of the ancient Art and Architecture of Ceylon; both by an Ethnologist who has made field studies of several aspects of Sinhalese culture; a plea for a judicious synthesis of Indigenous and Modern Medicine by a medical practitioner in the light of his own experiences; and an exposition of the unique death rites of Hinduism which only, evidence a conscious endearment and fusion of the scions with their manes, piously, sincerely, symbolically and unostentatiously in contrast with the burial-oriented tribal customs which have been reflected merely in the elaboration of tombs and offerings within them.

Section II carries the report of the proceedings of a Seminar held by the Institute on 1-11-1965 on Modernism and Traditional Values; as also the reproduction from the *Hindu Weekly Magazine* of an account of an international seminar on the Development of Museums which Unesco organized at the National Museum, New Delhi from Jan. 30 to Feb. 28, 1966. In Section III a bibliography of books and periodicals bearing on traditional cultures in South and South-East Asia follows. Sections IV (A) and (B) and V are omitted in this number in view of the larger extent of Section I. The Section on Arts and Crafts (VI) as also Section VII on Folk and other Arts comprise each a miscellany from various sources which are indicated in the relevant contexts. The eighth Section is Notes and News of varied cultural interest and the ninth contains reviews of books.

It now remains for me to thank all those who have helped me in the publication of this number. The Institute owes its continuance to financial assistance from Unesco through the Research Council of the India International Centre, New Delhi and from the Government of India. To the University of Madras and its esteemed Vice-Chancellor (Dr. Sir A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar) who is the President of the Institute, this Institute is indebted in no small measure. The University accommodates the Institute in its buildings and provides it with other amenities; its large academic staff in its various Research Departments in the Humanities offer their hearty cooperation in the work of the Institute. The University also gives financial help equivalent to the cost of printing the two issues of the *Bulletin* for the year. The Executive Committee has given much ready help in the management of the Institute both on its administrative and academic sides.

Madras,
Date: 31-12-1966.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI,
Director.

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SECTION I: ARTICLES

HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT THROUGH THE UNESCO

By

DR. (MRS.) R. THAMARAJAKSHI, M.A., M.LITT., PH.D.
(*Lecturer in Economics, University of Madras*)

("Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed."—*Preamble to the Constitution of UNESCO*).

The ultimate determinants of economic growth may be indicated as resources—material and human. The availability of material resources is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for increases in net output. Economic development has much to do with human achievements, skills, knowledge and technology. Empirical studies of the currently advanced economies reveal that there exists a range of considerable dimension in the growth of their output, which is not explained in terms of the conventional factors of production. Thus a fifth factor has been observed to be at play—which has been identified as the human resource potential of an economy. Reflecting on the problem of investment in human resources, Theodore W. Schultz rightly remarks "Some growth of course can be had from the increase in more conventional capital even though the labour that is available is lacking both in skill and knowledge. But the rate of growth will be seriously limited. It simply is not possible to have the fruits of modern agriculture and the abundance of modern industry without making large investments in human beings."[1]

The concept of the human factor refers to "the acquired and useful abilities of all the inhabitants or members of a society"[2]

1. Schultz T. W. "Reflections on Investment in man" *The Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. LXX, No. 5, Part 2, Oct. 1962, p. 2.

2. Smith Adam: *An Inquiry into the Nature and causes of the Wealth of Nations*: Cannan Ed. (Reissued by Modern Library), Random House, Inc., 1937, Book II, pp. 265-66. Quoted by F. Harbisar and C. A. Mycres: Education Manpower and Economic Growth, p. 3.

and includes broadened capacities, widened horizons of expectations, extended knowledge, upgraded skills, and diffused scientific and technological understanding. At an expert meeting held at the UNESCO house, the human factor was analysed "as being the totality of human perception, attitudes, motivations, interactions and structures which may either contribute to the process of development, slow down its pace, be patterned on it or mobilised by it."[3]

II

But the development of the human factor which implies the generation of new administrative and technical skills, the evolution of proper organisational framework and the diffusion of congenial attitudes and motivations in the context of a complex dynamic society is a costly process. It is generally known that the progressing economies suffer from the impact of a constellation of mutually reinforcing forces that depress the availability and optimum utilisation of internal funds for stepping up the pace of economic advancement. It is therefore only proper that there should be a mobilisation, through international co-operation of the funds of technical, scientific, organisational and managerial knowledge that is available with the advaned economies for provision of intellectual aid to the less developed nations. The need of the hour has been recognised to be "the dedication of the energies, the resources and the imagination of all peaceful nations to a new kind of war....upon the brute forces of poverty and need".[4] Thus the idea of world-wide interdependence for annulling acquired superiorities through policies of international economic integration have been gaining ground in general, and more particularly, international understanding and intercommunication of ideas have been realised to be highly essential for a happier and more prosperous world economy. "No economic utopia can be established in isolation. The economic problem can suffer a real eclipse only when it has been conquered on a global basis, when the forces of production have reached a summit where mankind as a whole is freed from scarcity and can turn to work which is

3. "Development and Man". Proceedings of the Expert Meeting held at Unesco house 22-26 Nov. 1965. Reported: *Unesco Chronicle*, Vol. XII, (1966), No. 1, p. 30.

4. President Eisenhower's speech on 16th April 1953—Reported in the *Times*, 17th April 1953.

not toil but love and an opportunity for self-expression and self-fulfilment".[5] The Unesco as a specialised agency of the United Nations has approximated to the abovementioned realisation and has committed itself to a programme of increasing international co-operation for dissemination of scientific conclusions, diffusion of technical knowledge and promotion of cultural understanding.

III

It has been the specific purpose of the Unesco, to promote the 'development of man' through the educational, scientific and cultural relations among the citizens of the world. The Unesco has been striving to bring about international intellectual coordination through a world-wide exchange of ideas which has been in the genuine spirit of give-and-take between the followers of different systems of thought. As highlighted by Mr. René Maheu, Director-General of the Unesco, the ground for this organisation is first and foremost international intellectual cooperation while its other vital force is aid for development. With these twin moral purposes "at a time when the world echoes with the din of threats from forces of dissuasion", the Unesco seeks to provide "the great force of persuasion that will render the forces of dissuasion utterly useless".[6]

Since its inception, this international institution has ceaselessly endeavoured to assist the developing economies in their projects for human resource development. Spread of fundamental education, promotion of functional literacy, improvement of the educational system, training for scientists and technicians extension of opportunities of cultural contact through seminars, publications, and exchanges of students and experts—these are only a few instances of the operation of the Unesco in its agenda for international understanding. "Any activity which helps spread knowledge and information, regionally and internationally, comes within its area of operations".[7]

5. Rao, V. K. R. V.: "Some Reflections on the Economic Utopia"—*Indian Economic Review*, Vol. V, No. 3, Feb. 1961.

6 Maheu, René: Lessons from an inspiring debate: *Unesco Chronicle*, Vol. XI, (1965), No. 1, p. 25-6.

7. Courlander, Harold: *Shaping our times*: What the U.N. is and does, p. 107.

IV

In its programme for technical aid, the Unesco has rightly accorded high priority to education and science. The ethics of the assistance provided in the field of education is influenced by an integrated approach to education affecting the different facets of educational content, structure, curricula and methods, and the different aspirations and requirements of different sections of the world population. Elementary and adult education, school and higher education, rural and formal education, technical and scientific education are all included in the compass of the Unesco programme.

The basic philosophy is to evoke among the developing nations, a thirst for knowledge. Knowledge or images however "can be observed or at least deduced through the instrument of language".[8] In order that people may receive, decide and assimilate information, they should be educated in the three R's. The Unesco has been inspired by the need for a general eradication of illiteracy for "the presence in the world today of more than 700 million people who are unable to read and write......is a continuing challenge to the governments and peoples of all member states who had dedicated themselves to the promotion of human progress in the development Decade".[9] The Unesco believes that the problem of illiteracy is not specific to any single nation but concerns the whole of mankind, and that it can be eradicated by the organised efforts of the international community.

Developing economies have a growing demand for certain technological and critical skills. Existing technical institutions may have to be strengthened and new ones initiated; and in this context, problems of organisation, equipment and personnel would arise. It is the avowed responsibility of the Unesco to ensure international co-operation for promoting scientific and technological education and also for providing training schemes for technicians, engineers and technologists. The contribution of the Unesco in this regard may be gauged from the following report. "The importance of this branch of education is reflected in the emphasis

8. Boulding, K. E.: "The Economics of Knowledge and the Knowledge of Economies". R. T. Ely. Lecture, *American Economic Review*, Vol. LVI, No. 2, p. 2.

9. *Unesco Chronicle*, *Ibid.*, p. 29.

now being placed upon it by the Special Fund Sector of the UNDP. Of the sixty-nine projects entrusted to UNESCO now under execution forty-two are in the realm of technical and technological training and are spread through thirty-two countries......... A programme of this magnitude will very soon quicken the tempo of training already begun in many countries with help from the Technical Assistance Sector of UNDP. A good example is the Indian Institute of Technology (Bombay, India) which was established in the late 1950's with UNESCO help and which has made a considerable contribution to the development of industry and to the system of technological education in India."[10] Thus for example, the Unesco is interested in seven development projects in India financed jointly by the Government of India and the UNDP, which bears directly on the promotion of technical and scientific skills. Further with the support of the Unesco, the Government has been able to organise a series of seminars and courses in scientific documentation, Natural and Medical sciences.

Moreover the Unesco has been focussing its attention on teacher-training programmes as also on the material uplift of the teachers. It is thus engaged in a world-wide mobilization and organization of effort "on a scale never previously contemplated for the task of teaching and training the teachers who will carry to the people all the forms of instruction, skill and knowledge which the attack on world poverty requires".[11] A number of international surveys, comparative studies and expert meetings have been undertaken under the cosponsorship of the Unesco and the ILO, in order to investigate into the social status, professional training and economic conditions of teachers in the different geographical regions of the world.

It is accepted that teachers have a useful role to play in educational expansion; and that they should be equipped with the highest possible qualifications in order that they might discharge properly their duties to the students. In this context, the Unesco is right in emphasising the need for initial as well as in-service training for teachers. It is in fact held that all teachers (at the primary and pre-school as well as of the secondary levels) "should be prepared in general, special and pedagogical subjects in Uni-

10. Ellis, W. J.: Cooperation between the United Nations Development Programme and Unesco, *Unesco Chronicle,* Vol. XII, (1966), No. 7-8, p. 289.

11. Association for World Peace, *War on Want,* 1952, p. 60.

versities or in teacher preparation institutions on a level comparable to Universities".[12] Further, in order to improve productivity of education, the Unesco has pledged itself to the task of working out and popularising a new form of pedagogy based on the latest psychological and technological developments. This international organisation has also been helping the promotion among the youth of the world the principles of international peace and understanding through the system of associated schools.

V

The Unesco has particularly striven to dessiminate scientific knowledge among the member countries through programmes of systematic documentation, rationalisation of scientific publication, and international exchange of scientists. Inaugurating the international symposium organised by the Unesco on the theme "Science and Synthesis of knowledge of man and the Universe" Mr. René Maheu, Director-General, hoped that "the Unesco House will be increasingly used as the seat of world-wide confrontation of all research work and all truths, all certainties and all doubts, all the anxieties and hopes that invest the human mind—this with the object not only of fostering better mutual understanding between those participating in the dialogue but also of helping them to play a more appropriate part in history and to exert a more effective influence on the destinies of men".[13] This in fact is the spirit of service of the Unesco in the field of scientific advancement.

Further it is not in a mere application of science to development that the Unesco is interested. On the contrary, it has been concentrating on the sociological and psychological preconditions for and consequences of the adoption of scientific methods of production. Thus much more than the economic aspects of the effective use of scientific knowledge, the responsibility of the Unesco relates "to the more fundamental and essentially social and in-

12. Hercik, Vladimir: Preparation of an international instrument on the status of teachers, *Unesco Chronicle,* Vol. XII, (1966), No. 4, p. 151. Quoted from the Draft Recommendation of the meeting of Experts—Geneva, M. 28 Jan. 1966, (Art. 21 (1)).

13. "Science and Synthesis of knowledge on Man and the Universe" International Symposium, Paris 13-15, Dec. 1965, Proceedings of the Meeting reported in *Unesco Chronicle*, Vol. XII, (1966), No. 2, p. 52.

tellectual level of the achievement of the prerequisites for the application of science and technology to economic activity and the promotion of special efforts in research, adaptation or teaching wherever the novelty, specificity or complexity of such application give rise to problems.[14]

VI

The preservation of national cultures and the promotion of international cultural contacts are the twin motivating ideals behind the activities of the Unesco. Technical assistance is not to be considered a one-way process. The potentialities for contribution in the cultural field are manifold for the developing economies. The native artists and craftsmen in some of these economies should be helped to adapt their traditional techniques and designs to suit external markets, without however affecting the artistic quality of their work. "Preserving them not only helps protect the culture as a whole, but also conserves a potential economic resource and ultimately makes available to members of other cultures valuable items in the general cultural heritage of mankind".[15]

International action for cultural co-ordination is a broad-based programme, including within its folds, the intellectual, scientific and creative aspects of the ways of life of different peoples. The evolution of sustained and stable relations between the nations of the world through the emphasis on the interdependence of diverse cultures and the cultivation of free exchange of ideas and values, has been considered as a part of long-term process of international learning and mutual adaptation.

The principle of reciprocity in cultural cooperation is given expression in the Unesco's programme for East-West understanding. The project calls for systematic efforts in research, in scholarly publications and in higher education; and has been carried through seminars, symposia, conferences, international camps, publications and exchange of personnel. This endeavour to ensure a free flow of information involves "governments, non-governmental organisations and through them, the means of mass com-

14. *Unesco Chronicle*, Vol. XII, (1966), No. 7-8, p. 274.
15. United Nations: Technical Assistance for Economic Development May 1949, 221-222.

munication in all countries.[16] The East-West Major Project attempts to impart an educational influence on the young and an organic impact on the pedagogic process itself. The programme is based on the firm belief that cultural relations can be ensured only through a creation of "uninhibited traffic in information which can surmount the barriers of ignorance, fear, prejudice and lack of materials".[17]

VII

The Unesco is thus symbolic of an age when the sovereignty and universality of Man have been recognised. It has initiated a process of conscious international coordination through positive presentation and fruitful intercommunication of ideas and values, for the development of the human personality. As President Johnson acclaimed "In this spirit, Unesco had already become a creative workshop for constructive action in the development of education, science, and culture. It should and must continue further exploration in these inviting realms of science and humanities removed from ideological conflicts—realms where the only boundaries are those set by man's intellectual interest to know more about the Universe around us and the capacities within us."[18]

The fruition of the Unesco's mission for the promotion of aesthetic, cultural, educational and scientific facets of the human factor could be hastened if a harmonisation could be effected between the bilateral and the multilateral forms of aid. Apart from an integration of the bilaterial schemes in international action, the former could also be offered for extending the primary benefits conferred by multilateral assistance programmes. In order to give effect to this necessary coordination between bilateral and international aid, Unesco may have to be highly selective in its choice of projects.

The objective of technical assistance is to provide the guidelines for the development of human resources. This can be achieved

16. *Orient Occident:* News of Unesco's Major Project on Mutual appreciation of Eastern and Western cultural values, Aug. 1965, p. 3.

17. UNESCO Newsletter, Vol. IV, No. 2, June 1966.

18. Message from the President of the United States of America to the Thirteenth General Conference of the UNESCO at the start of its session —*Unesco Chronicle,* Vol. XI, (1965), No. 1, p. 6.

only if the programme is based upon a comprehensive analysis of the national plans and a deep understanding of the social structure and the culture pattern of the recipient country. "The aim should not be to demonstrate spectacular achievements in the shortest possible time but to teach methods of work and create habits of mind."[19]

Further it has to be recognised that international cooperation is a 'dialogue of minds..[20] The success of the joint action programme initiated by the Unesco is assured if each member state is inspired by Śrī Krishna's preaching to Arjuna in the *Bhagavat Gīta.*

> "Whatever thou doest, whatever thou eatest, whatever thou offerest in sacrifice whatever thou givest away, whatever austerity thou practisest, O Son of Kunti, do that as an offering unto me."[21]

19. "Some aspects of assistance operations in Member States"—*Unesco Chronicle*, Vol. XII, (1966), No. 3, p. 113

20. Efstafiev, A. G., India and Unesco.

21. Cited by Rao, V. K. R. V., *op.cit.*, p. 241.

PHILOSOPHY OF THE UNESCO

By

N. Subrahmanian, M.A., Ph.D.
(Lecturer in Indian History, University of Madras)

"The purpose of the Organization is to contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among the nations through education, science and culture in order to further universal respect for justice, for the rule of law and for the human rights and fundamental freedoms which are affirmed for the peoples of the world, without distinction of race, sex, language or religion by the charter of the United Nations" (The Constitution of the Unesco, Article 1, para 1).

The United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization — one of the specialised agencies of the U.N. — completes this year two decades of an exceedingly and variously useful and growing human concern. This is a landmark in the evolution of organized international endeavour to relieve cultural deficiencies and to promote uniform high standards of educational, scientific and cultural attainments. It has been the declared aim of this unique organization to promote intellectual cooperation over an international area hereto uncompassed in history, to conduct extensive and expensive literacy compaigns and to combat cultural conflicts. The numerous agencies of this organization have, within the short span of two decades, collected and channelised modern resources making them available to all needy areas, set up local cultural institutions and spread and established its influence so surely and well that a grateful world looks to a further fulfilment of the Unesco's aims with hope.

It has always been in the nature of all civilized human endeavour to secure equal opportunities to all those who desire them, but in the modern world where leaders of world thought and actions have been jostled into a new awareness by the bitter experience of two world wars, the endeavour is also to educate the world into desiring those opportunities and into properly using

them when secured. Latin America with a sub-Euramerican standard of educational and scientific attainment had to be extended a helping hand; while black Africa lingering far behind had to be provided airlifts in cultural and scientific progress, as it were; but the real problem arose in the case of the Asian communities which are truly conservative and where enlightened public opinion with governmental approval and support had to accept and implement the cultural programmes of the Unesco. This multifaced activity has, however, succeeded beyond the expectations of the most sanguine, because the basic aim of the Unesco has been not to sell culture of any particular brand, but to promote cultural understanding, to achieve higher standards of modern achievements without sacrificing valued and valuable cultural heritages; thereby helping to establish a genuine international community based on mutual understanding and appreciation.

The aims and aspirations of the U.N. are large and many and include the achievement of the aims like the attainment of higher standards of living involving industrialization, more and better food production, control of population, discovery of the means of channelising aid from the more affluent to the less and setting up of efficient machinery to man these plans. These are problems enough for the doughtiest. But the U.N. at the very outset, has recognized that none of these can be achieved or even attempted without a genuine acceptance of the philosophy of the UNESCO by all member countries. The education needed to realize the aims of the U.N. is the basic requisite for honourable peace and enlightened prosperity in the world and to provide this is the aim of the UNESCO. Thus it becomes clear that the realization of the Unesco's programmes is an imperative that must precede even a limited achievement of international cultural understanding and sympathy. As the U.N. has rightly understood and proclaimed the very simple but little realised truth that all conflicts are born in the minds of men, it is those minds that need urgent and proper education. Any amount of military organizational or political diplomatic activity can lead to no results so long as those minds are dark and/or malicious. So the most ambitious, difficult and basic of all the aims of the various specialized agencies of the U.N. belong to the Unesco, which tries to seek out those dark alleys of the human mind and enlighten them, with the willing cooperation of all civilized mankind.

In the world of today, on many parts of which 'freedom' (political as well as social) has descended like a cloudburst, the downpour could be depended upon to wash away some desirable babies along with a lot of cultural bath water and this has naturally led to some anxiety in the minds of traditionalists and cultural chauvinists here and there; but in a worldwide movement of these dimensions and importance organized and sponsored by the Unesco, such an exigency is unavoidable; though intelligent and genuine cooperation from all member societies can help much to discover what is worth preserving in the many cultural heritages one hears about.

Science and technology in Europe, from the Renaissance to the Industrial Revolution, wrought a silent but gigantic change in the social philosophies of Europe and America. These changes and these philosophies have spread and popularised over the whole world, the scientific attitude of mind, which will surely try to oust blind faith and its consequences — ignorance and cultural despotism—from their ancient pedestal of authority. Howsoever slow and gentle this process be, the very changes will involve a certain resistance. But the necessity to base cultural understanding on not merely distant and cold tolerance but sympathetic exchange of cultural traits with a free and open mind—an integral feature of the philosophy of science, is so obvious that reversal of the modern trend towards a technocratic society or even a retardation in its pace will be almost impossible. Hence the Unesco's emphasis on generous aid to all member countries to promote science-based education. This means that even humanistic studies and the pursuit of the arts will be science and freedom oriented; and societies, near and far, will mingle in a common battle against illiteracy and superstition, social exclusiveness and group arrogance; for educational backwardness is at the root of all backwardness.

Literacy and education into modern needs are essential pre-requisites for the creation of an industrial society which is the aim of practically all the countries today. Ancient tenets of rural contentment and medieval goals of feudal prosperity are attempted to be superseded by modern industrial affluence. The director of a textile mill in Central America is reported to have said: "More is involved than just production in one textile mill. It is the economic growth of the country which is at stake. In other countries, workers are consumers. Here they have not been educated and there is too little demand. There is no sense talking about indus-

trializing a country if factories cannot sell what they produce." This kind of reasoning holds good also for countries making "a transition from a traditional to a modern form of society, from comparative isolation to integration in an ever more independent world". But "You cannot teach a man anything unless he wants to know;" this is as true as it is to say that you cannot raise the standard of living of a person bent on remaining poor or whose culture consists in praising the virtues of poverty. Many illiterates make a distinction between literacy and education — a distinction valid only in extreme instances and not normally true. The illiteracy of an Akbar does not justify illiteracy elsewhere, which is but a synonym and symptom of ignorance which can never be a virtue. This vital battle against illiteracy is being waged by the Unesco against heavy odds.

The insistance on modern education, science, technology and industrialization might mislead the unwary into imagining that destruction of traditional culture is contemplated or will become inevitable soon. But this will be an oversimplification of a difficult and delicate ideal. The need for standing on one's feet as well as on the shoulders of one's past (i.e., building the future on the basis of all that is valuable of the past) and continuity of cultural growth is fully realised by the Unesco. The tremendous organizational effort needed to save the Nubian architectural treasures therefore, was justified by the present necessity to save ancient culture for future inspiration. No one nation, least of all one that is poorly off, can afford the enormous expenses involved in saving ancient cultural relics threatened with destruction by the fury of nature or the negligence of man. But discrimination is of the essence of this activity. That is honest, informed and scientific approach to this problem is legitimate as well as practically useful; while overēnthusiastic but ill-informed cultural activity will be merely vandalism masquerading as renovation or recreation.

In special areas of cultural interest of a sophisticated nature, the method to be employed in preserving ancient culture would be different from the general pattern of mass adult education as well as normal schooling and extra curricular teaching. For the latter mass media of communication including the Press, the T.V. etc., play an increasingly effective role and are intended to convey cultural messages from one region to another not only within a

country but among all parts of the world. This is necessary to overcome cultural conflicts.

The Unesco, in short, wishes to create the mental and moral atmosphere needed to enable a tolerant, cultural internationalism to take the place of intolerant nationalism; the 'temples of understanding,' that will rise on the ruins of international misunderstanding leading to war and destruction, will be the criteria by which the aims and achievements of the Unesco will be judged. Poverty, disease and illiteracy — the triple curse of man — will be the common enemies of the I.L.O., the W.H.O. and the Unesco, and man emancipated from the grip of these destructive forces can tread the path of material and moral fulfilment.

If this battle is not waged consistently and courageously and finally won, the pledge that the U.N. published at its inception cannot be redeemed: "We the peoples of the U.N. are determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom." This is an ideal to which the peoples of the world must rededicate themselves on the occasion of this the twentieth anniversary of the founding of the Unesco.

MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING OF EAST AND WEST

By

DR. VLADIMIR SOUCEK

Ten years of the UNESCO East-West Project on the mutual appreciation of Eastern and Western cultural values, which is to end this year, has brought us to the point where we must look back and sum up the results achieved and consider how to follow up activities which have proved valuable.

One of the important aspects of the Project, was the endeavour to exert in this respect an educational influence on the young. In the course of these ten years of the Project, conditions were created to enable many aspects to be gradually incorporated in the different educational systems in order to give the young a really strong feeling of the broad context of all mankind and of all cultures and thus of the close relationship between the cultures of East and West. This feeling is essential if young people are to acquire a profounder interest in the life of peoples who are often very far removed from them geographically and if their actual knowledge of the cultural values and civilisation of these peoples is to lead them to respect them. This way forward, through international understanding and mutual respect, would do away with the mistakes of the past, get rid of prejudice and cut away in young people the roots of possible future tendencies to national, religious or racial intolerance or superiority.

Two Ways

There were two ways, in which these principles were put into practice by different countries, institutions and schools, which to some degree combined and complemented each other. On the one hand, the teaching process itself was involved, while on the other, many forms of external activities were brought into play. As far as the teaching programmes are concerned, the main task was to achieve gradually certain changes in school syllabuses and consequently in text-books as well in order to incorporate knowledge of Oriental countries in the Occident and of the Occidental countries in the Oriental counries in a systematic and organic manner.

Assets in the realisation of the Project in various countries were the conference, seminars and symposia arranged either by the Secretariat of UNESCO itself or the UNESCO institute for Education as well as by affiliated institutions and the National UNESCO Commissions. Very informative in this respect was, for instance, the discussion on the treatment of the Oriental and Occidental countries in text-books for school children in different countries, which arose in the course of the seminar arranged in 1960 by the UNESCO Institute of Education in cooperation with the Turkish National Commission. The delegates of the Asian countries gave as an example the treatment of Italy in text-books for the pupils of their countries, the delegates of the Occidental countries put forward the way India is dealt with in their text-books. These two countries were not a haphazard choice; they have both had a long and uninterrupted historical development, both have a wealth of cultural tradition and from the cultural point of view they both exerted a significant influence on neighbouring areas.

The seminar showed that various text-books differ considerably not only in the amount of knowledge imparted and its accuracy, but even in their basic approach to the question. The delegates from the East commented in many cases that the text-books used in Occidental countries laid too great a stress on political history, military campaigns, the traditions of commercial relations, etc., to the detriment of facts which would serve to throw light on the broad cultural development of the country concerned and on the contribution each Oriental country has made to world culture.

Selection of Facts

The discussion showed up one of the most important points — the choice of facts. It also showed how important it is that the approach to the Oriental countries in the teaching process should be the same as the approach to the Occidental countries. For young people to be able to appreciate the present-day problems of the Oriental countries and the way their peoples live, they need, however, to be given a fairly broad explanation of the historical development of these countries and of the specific influences which came into play there (e.g. the significant role of religion as a social institution, of family ties, etc.). Also the period of colonisation and again, the development of the liberation

movements should be dealt with in detail. Unless the context is well understood much of the present day development of the Oriental countries cannot be understood.

On the other hand, if we lay too great stress on the differences in the way of life and traditions and customs of the East unknown in Occidental countries and taken out of their context without a sufficient explanation of their origin, we shall be presenting the Oriental countries in a light very different from the sober approach to the Occidental countries, bringing with it the danger that young people will find these countries somewhat exotic or even mythical; this is precisely the opposite of what the East-West Project is trying to achieve and of education for international understanding.

If we consider the quantity of facts about Oriental countries, included in the text-books of various Occidental countries, we find the greatest number in the text-books of those countries which until recently counted some Oriental country as a part of their overseas empires. Naturally enough, in these countries, the text-books traditionally dealt with the Oriental countries in some detail, for the knowledge was part and parcel of their civic education. On the other hand, those Occidental countries which did not own colonies in the East devoted much less attention to knowledge of Oriental countries in their text-books particularly where the emphasis in the teaching was placed on national rather than world history. Here however, it could be seen that the approach to the Oriental countries to-day is less conditioned by previous historical development and the text-books seem to pay more attention to the present position and contemporary trends in the East.

The seminar held in Turkey as well as a similar meeting held in 1962 in Czechoslovakia devoted much attention to methods of avoiding mistakes and inaccuracies in dealing with Oriental countries. It was stressed that expert information — in this case to be gained from Orientalists — should be insisted on during the writing and editing of text-books. It would perhaps be pertinent to mention that in Czechoslovakia there is close co-operation between authors and orientalists in drawing up new school text-books; the critical comments put forward by these scholars on some of the text-books used in schools have led to their withdrawal and preparations have been made for their replacement.

There is no doubt that not all teachers are in a position to meet the considerable demands put forward by the East-West Project; the majority have been taught in the traditional way and some time must elapse before they can acquire the necessary knowledge and in some cases adopt themselves to the new approach. It is therefore necessary to support the suggestion of inservice training of teachers, particularly of teachers of history and geography; the results that have already been achieved in some countries among them Czechoslovakia, seem to be good.

Handbooks for Teachers

Further, appropriate hand-books should be issued to teachers. On the basis of one of these recommendations, the UNESCO Department of Education called a meeting of experts in 1963, where the compilation and publication of a hand-book for teachers of the Occidental countries was agreed on; it would contain the basic information on the Oriental countries. It was agreed that it should include extensive sections on traditional currents and changing trends, as well as separate chapters on individual oriental countries dealing with their history, culture and social and economic development, with a short bibliography. It was recommended that these separate chapters of this handbook should be written through the agency of the National UNESCO Commission of the relevant Oriental countries or at least in close co-operation with them.

It would also be desirable to prepare fairly comprehensive anthologies of translations of the great works of Oriental literatures, accompanied by reproductions of works of art, architectural monuments ,etc. Such anthologies could then be also used in other school subjects such as the history of literature, music and art, appreciation, and civic courses. In this way knowledge of the East would penetrate all aspects of the educational process.

A significant contribution to the East-West Project has been made by the Associated Schools, where emphasis was laid on education for international understanding and where the ideas of the Project naturally played an important part. In Czechoslovakia a similar function was performed by the Czechoslovak Society for Eastern Studies' "patron schools." Associated Schools had usually modified either their syllabuses or at least the programme of several lessons in order to provide the maximum of

information about individual Oriental countries. In other cases (and also in the Czechoslovak "patron school") the emphasis was on external activities outside the normal syllabus. Group visits to museums of Oriental cultures were made, during which specialists gave talks; films, lectures and exhibitions were arranged.

Group Contacts

An interesting form of activity was provided by the International Camps organised in the summer holidays in Czechoslovakia, where groups of young people from both Oriental and Occidental countries met and came into direct contact with the traditions and customs of other nations. With trained leaders to direct these camps, they serve to educate the young in mutual respect for other nations, their customs and ideas.

Of the media outside the school itself, an important place belongs to radio and television (very popular with the young). The same is true of films, which can be used to complement the lessons and the text-books.

Recently the problems of Occidental countries in dealing with teaching about the countries of the Orient were again aired in the regional questionnaires organised through the international teachers' organisations. These led the countries concerned to carry out a detailed analysis of the information on Oriental countries included in their text-books and to assess the value of their approach to the problem.

Though the UNESCO Project is coming to an end, it does not mean that this worthwhile activity in the education of the young should end too. The last ten years have seen much achieved and conditions suitable for the work have now been created in even more countries. Apart from publications aimed at explaining individual oriental countries and their cultural traditions, audio-visual aid kits about individual countries should be put together to provide young people with an interesting form of school or external activity in which they can learn more about the life traditions and culture of the different Oriental nations.

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HINDUISM AND SECULARISM

By

N. Subrahmanian, M.A., Ph.D.

(*Lecturer in Indian History, University of Madras*)

(This is the second part of the paper by Dr. N. Subrahmanian. In the first part which appeared in the preceding number of the *Bulletin* he showed that the point of view of the marginal Hindu is the most appropriate for an understanding of the impact of Secularism on Hinduism. Various definitions of Secularism were considered and the relevance of the doctrine of separation of religigion from State activity as a necessary condition of the secularity of the State was examined. The view of Dr. D. E. Smith that Hinduism is by its very nature suited to become easily secular was rejected and it was held that Hinduism, if sufficiently secularised, will cease to enjoy its individuality, for its very hope is to shed the temporal and mortal and seek salvation in the prescribed spiritual and eternal path. The influence of ecology on Hindu social and individual behaviour was noticed and the consequent and special definition of merit, not as 'ability plus effort', but, as 'caste, hereditary quality' was considered to be a corollary of the unbounded faith in an omnipotent Fate.—Ed.)

10. *Secularism in the West*

The history of Europe, in spite of persecutions, reformations, religious wars etc., tended by and large towards modern secularism, the progress being helped by the renaissance, humanism, science and rationalism. The spirit of science in the west was responsible largely for effecting secularization; by the 17th century as an evidence of secularization of western life, "science replaced religion as the permanent interest and pursuit of the leading spirits in the Western society."[38] But this spirit was the result of popular participation in the discoveries of science and the inventions of technology. A similar spirit cannot, however, pervade a society to which western science and technology are imports held as current fashion and not the result of a native intellectual revolution.

38. A. Toynbee: *An Historian's approach to Religion*, p. 184.

In fact, secularism as a positive, defined concept bearing that name was born in the 19th century in Europe. In England it was more or less a direct offspring of Robert Owen's 'Socialism' and it is not strange at all that in independent India too the promoters of the 'socialistic' ideology should have been enthusiastic about secularism, too. To begin with, however, the secularist tends rather to be on the side of agnosticism.[39] Holyoake's connection with Robert Owen, the Cooperative movement and socialism show the organic connection between secularism and the socialist thought. Socialism is only at stone's throw from communism which is at arm's length[40] from atheism and anti-religion. It is not infrequently that a secularist is a crypto-atheist though he may not be always aware of it himself.

11. *The historical background in India*

Prof. A. L. Basham summing up Hindu attitude to society and state observes:, "In India much political mysticism (as we find in the west) was discouraged by the doctrine of Dharma, which concerned society and not the state, and by the fundamental individuation of all metaphysical systems. The ultimate aim of all valid and worthy human activity is salvation, which cannot be achieved by corporate entities such as peoples, castes, and families, but only by individual human beings."[41]

This means that in ancient India there was a salvation — oriented individualism; this Hindu individual tried to free himself from the group for the purpose of unhindered march to the spiritual goal, as contrasted with the other individual (of the west) who was the nucleus for the realization of secular goals through the groups, including the largest legal group the state. These individuals, one withdrawing from the group for spiritual purposes and the other operating through the group for secular fulfilment were very different persons in their goals and functions. So it is futile to imagine that the mere existence of a kind of individualism in

39. 'Secularism' and 'agnosticism' were, by the way, terms coined by Holyoake and T. H. Huxley respectively in the 19th century and, so as spelt-out concepts, these are but a century old.

40. Not the extended arm but the arm holding in an embrace.

41. Dr. A. L. Basham: *Some fundamental political ideas in ancient India;* (hereafter referred to as *S.F.P.I.*) p. 22; *Politics and society in India.* Dr. C. H. Philips (ed.).

the Hindu's range of thought and action can provide a basis on which modern western secularism could be built.

That this individualism does not relate to the social or political sphere is mentioned thus by Mr. A. B. Shah: "The social institutions of Hinduism are essentially authoritarian in spirit. They discount individuality, initiative, and free enquiry, all of which are among the core elements of the modern outlook. The tolerance with which Hindu society is familiar.........rarely promotes interaction of ideas, attitudes and practices with the possibility of an eventual synthesis. Within its own fold, traditional Hinduism insists on extreme conformism in practice while permitting considerable latitude in speculation in the philosophical field."[42]

The pattern of Hindu culture is an integrated piece taking care to discard discordant elements. The lack of secular interest preached by the *Gīta* reduced man to the position of an automaton, and the excessive shoving of moral responsibility on to the Almighty resulted in royal aggression leading to aggrandisement but not annexation. The lack of popular revolt against royal tyranny in India does not necessarily disprove tyranny but proves lack of enthusiasm for effort to resist iniquity.[43]

Dr. Smith summarises the position: "The secular state is in origin, a western and not an Asian conception."[44] Hence today the secular attitude instead of superseding traditional Hindu- non-secular predilections, became one more attitude just as materialism (*lokāyata*) instead of largely negating and even suspending spiritual or religious doctrines became or was classified as one more system of thought.

With the advent of the British in India, secularism slowly emerged as an acceptable view point. Wilberforce pleaded for the creation of a missionary establishment in India for the religious and moral improvement of the native inhabitants of India; the parliament rejected the request; such rejection constituted a secu-

42. Introduction by Mr. A. B. Shah, pp. 10, 11—*Tradition and Modernity*, 1964.

43. "No example of a successful popular revolt is to be found in the history of pre-Muslim India": *S.F.P.I.*, p. 21.

44. Dr. D. E. Smith: *India as a Secular State*, p. 22 (hereafter referred to as *ISS*.

larist attitude. The English utilitarians were parents of English secularism; but when the friends and followers of Jeremy Bentham became influential in the Govt. of India, interference in religious practice started under the garb of humanitarianism, as for example, in the case of the abolition of *sati* and suppression of *Thugee.* So the traditions of mowing down the weeds on the heath of Hindu religion started in earnest with the English utilitarians in India like Bentinck and some Indians like Ram Mohan; since those days reform of Hinduism even at the risk of offending very orthodox and sectarian sentiment, became a mark of modernism in India. Hinduism easily lent itself to legislative meddling in the name of secularization and modernisation. In this context an extremely astute observation of Prof. Marc Galanter is worth noting. "The revolutionary principle fostered by British rule was not the notion of deliberate social change, but the notion of the unit which might legitimately introduce such changes."[45]

If non-interference in Hindu religion by the state, equal treatment of all Indian religions by the state, providing protection to practitioners of any religion etc., constituted secularism, the Queen's proclamation of 1858 was a secular document. But it was a self-proclaimed self-restraint on the part of a political sovereign; it has been proved by the behaviour of successor governments that such restraint could be withdrawn at will by the sovereign. It is well known that in Hindu society "traditionally whatever the sovereign commands has been regarded as custom";[46] but it was a safe custom so long as the kings could be depended upon to function within the limits of traditional dharma; but if with modern governments whatever the sovereign (parliament) commands does become custom it will also incidentally destroy all the older customs deemed objectionable by it.

In early Congress politics, the moderates represented secularism and appealed to reason and argument while extremists represented non-secularism and appealed to religious sentiments.

Those who are interested in the prosperity of posterity naturally device ever new techniques of social and economic

45. Marc Galanter: *Hindu Law and the Development of the Modern Indian legal system,* p. 24 (hereafter referred to as *H.L.*)
46. Maine: *Village communities,* p. 9.

improvement but if they are earnest about it they had better know the human material they are dealing with and not merely be content with statistical data based on analogies and probabilities.

While the Govt. of India may declare itself 'secular', it is doubtful if the masses in the country have any such illusion about themselves. In fact it may be one of the functions of the secular state to refrain from frowning on tradition; but the numerous religious activities perpetually going on all over the country surely represent the traditional mood of the people, much more authentically than the conclusions drawn by learned dons in their professional meetings. The most unerring proof of popular likes is the amazing popularity of what are known as 'Kālakshepams'. While even Indian classical music and dance are largely religion-oriented, the Kālakshepam reveals more of the Hindu mind than any other traditional cultural institution.[47] The oft-repeated tales and the familiar jokes are the endless opiate of pious old men,[48] already enervated by a merciless summer.

12. *Caste and Secularism*

Caste makes the Hindu society distinctly different from the rest of human society. It is associated with religion. "The social habits of caste are inextricably tied up with religion."[49] So caste is an anti-secular institution. Nehru had a valid apprehension that 'a caste-ridden society is not properly secular.' Prof. Kapp, a shrewd observer said: "Caste and kinship organization tend to be among the primary factor which prevent the emergence of larger loyalties and the development of a spirit of solidarity and participation without which neither economic development nor political democracy can be achieved."[50] It is quite clear that Hindu society has become secular only to the extent to which it has become casteless. But caste has a tendency to perpetuate itself even in adversity.

47. Some of these are extremely popular and are attended by leisured business men, retired government officials, many others who are in the evening of their lives. The intellectuals meeting in University seminars do not have a dog's chance against the afore-mentioned assemblage of invincible traditionalists.

48. Age is no consideration for their antiquity.

49. Hutton: *Caste in India: its nature, function and origin.*

50. Dr. Kapp: *Hindu Culture and Economic Development*, pp. 49, 50.

"The constitutional provisions guaranteeing specified numbers of govt. jobs, legislative seats and school admissions to designated untouchable and low castes have sharpened caste consciousness on an enormous scale."[51]

"An actual increase of caste consciousness tends to emerge also in the political sphere where candidates may be chosen on the basis of caste and their appeal to particular castes, when voting may take place along caste lines and when the elected officials are expected to favour the caste they came from. Under these circumstances even universal suffrage and democracy may have the effect of actually strengthening rather than weakening the caste system."[52] Noel P. Gist writing in the *American Sociological Review* reports that "A sociologist who studied a sample of 3467 persons in Bangalore, a modern metropolis by Indian standards, found intercaste marriages extremely rare."[53]

In the past, under the Hindu monarchical arrangement, the caste system was static because its claims as established by custom were fairly met by royal care and any slight disturbance was easily adjusted by purely social punitive action like excommunication. But now when the democratic political arrangement has come in, caste is playing the role of political pressure groups in the west and thus making itself an integral feature of Indian 'democratic politics.'

Untouchability is one aspect of caste arrangements; this practice has been banned in a constitutional provision. Earlier by temple entry acts, the admission of untouchables into Hindu places of public worship had been achieved. But from the point of view of the orthodox, modern legislation has not only admitted the untouchables into temples but also, cut the prescribed distances between the 'ceremonially impure' and himself whether it occurs in a restaurant, public road or a temple. So it is both a religious and a social reform; and the disability of the untouchable cannot be removed without affecting the orthodox and this hurts the latter precisely to the extent to which it is supposed to benefit the former.

51. Selig. S. Harrison: *India: Most dangerous decades* (hereafter referred to as I: M.D.D.), p. 103.

52. *H.C.E.D.*, p. 37.

53. *"Caste differentials in S. India"*—in *The American Sociological Review*, April 1954, p. 128 quoted in I: M.D.D., p. 104.

Then legislative enactments cannot kill caste, because in the final analysis it is more securely cherished at heart and in the immediate physical environment to which no state, however tyrannical, can have access. But the secularist Quixote imagines that by pulling off his antagonist's shirt, he has skinned him! But the ultimate point in the evolving situation has been spotlighted as follows: "If and when caste disappears, Hinduism will also disappear."[54]

13. *Law*

Since the advent of the British generally and since independence particularly, the attack on Hindu personal law based on status fixed by birth (functioning on the basis of Hindu Dharma) and the evolution of uniform Law (based on alterable secular status) have been the most considerable frontal blows delivered at non-secularist attitudes of Hinduism.

The elimination of personal law and the creation of a uniform code of civil law (Article 44 — Constitution of India) is a step towards 'modernisation' of Hindu law, though the process involves interference in the religious instituitons of the Hindus. The reforms (called social but marginally affecting religion too) which started with the English ultilitarians and were enthusiastically supported by their Indian friends affected personal law in the matter of succession and marriage between 1937 and 1946. But all this western 'humanitarianism' has been outdone by the reformist zeal of the government of Independent India and personal law is under heavy fire under the stimulus of a directive principle of state policy in the constitution. This situation is at variance with the averment of leaders of Indian public opinion that secularism is a desired and declared Indian policy, because the Hindu personal laws are not free from religious affiliations.

The intention of the Hindu law amendments and various other legal measures taken in recent times in India has been to eradicate the barriers within Hinduism and promote an integrated Hindu community and eventually a non-communal society. But this is the aspiration and achievement of a small western-educated elite

54. M. N. Srinivas: '*A Note on Sanskritisation and westernization*'. *Far Eastern Quarterly*, 1956, Vol. 15, p. 495.

using the law to impose its notions on the rest of the community. Prof. Marc Galanter notes: "As in many areas of Indian life, the law in regard to the family and caste represents not a response to the felt needs of its clientele or an accommodation of conflcting interests and persons," but "is the expression of the aspiration of the most articulate and advanced" groups which hope to use its educational as well as its coercive powers to improve the unenlightened.[55] Those reformers however have reckoned without the host; Prof. Galanter continues: "The demise of traditional law does not mean the demise of traditional society. Traditional notions of legality and methods of change still persist at a sublegal level — eg., in the area of activities protected by the doctrine of 'caste autonomy' and in the form of accepted deviance, and in arrangements to evade or ignore the law." (Modern) "Indian law is, for the most part, palpably 'foreign' in origin and inspiration and it is notoriously incongruent with the attitudes and concerns of much of the population which lives under it."[56] "The modern legal system may provide new possibilities for opening within 'traditional' society. Traditional society is not passively regulated by the modern system; it uses the system for its own ends." But it should not be forgotten that if the modern state has the sovereign means for legal coercion, the traditional society has the social means for invisible evasion of inconvenient law to the extent to which it is repugnant to traditional sentiment; and if modern system uses tradition for its own ends, tradition is systematically using modern law to strengthen itself.

Dr. Smith and Prof. Galanter have a worthy difference of opinion as to whether uniformisation of Hindu law is desirable for the Hindu society. Prof. Galanter is distressed at the prospect of a uniform civil code stripping Hinduism of its distinctive socio-legal institutions which have made it a total way of life; Dr. Smith is elated at the possibility of Hinduism being educated and improved by the secularist legislators of modern India. For my purpose in this essay, this difference of opinion, though interesting in itself, is beside the point. My case is that secularization along present lines if pressed far enough will not educate Hinduism but kill it.

55. *H.L.*, p. 24.
56. *H.L.*, *ibid.*

But incidentally Prof. Marc Galanter draws attention to a behavioural byproduct in this situation of modernisation of Hindu law and says that "there is a cost to be paid in the disrespect for democratic government engendered by widerspread evasion — as would inevitably ensue were such a uniform family law to be enacted."

Dr. Derrett provides a justification for treating certain aspects of traditional civil law as merely secular and hence amenable for reform by a secular state. "In the context of civil law, Hindu jurisprudence in some cases deliberately utilised religious doctrines in order to justify rules which on purely secular grounds were found to be sound and desirable." But it means, also, that the legal out-look of the ancient Hindus was deliberately religious; 'secular' as a conception was foreign to them; and if they knew it, they rejected it. They did not know or want an area of human life, high or low, which could be left outside the ambit of religion. Religion was understood in such a wide connotation by the ancient Hindus that there was no room for the secular in their thought.

It is suggested that secularism represents a high degree of social justice; but if it operates in a society in which religious values are deemed more important than any other, it will surely work to the disadvantage of the society and represent a high degree of injustice. This condition will prevail till such time that society is converted to the views of the modern reformers. But even now the 'third idiom' viz., the 'saintly' (i.e., the sacred) mentioned by Prof. Morris-Jones as 'marginal' in current Indian politics is really 'vital' and 'basic' while it is the western idiom that is marginal.[57]

14. *The State—subject power ratio*

It can be stated as a fairly constant dictum that when a restless people are more potent than obstinate governments, the consequence will be a revolution; when the government is more potent than a people, despotism will follow; where government and people are equally potent, the result is democracy! but while government has neither the means nor the will, or has the will

57. M. Jones: Indian Political Idioms (hereafter referred to as *I.P.I.* in *Politics and Society in India*: C. H. Philips (Ed.).

but not the means to bring about amelioration in all its aspects to a people who need it badly and a people who have neither the will nor the means or have the means but not the will to bend the government to its reformist and welfarist duties — the consequence is political and cultural stalemate in which the governors and the governed are equally impotent, and nothing happens. But the benefit of the situation is with the people who opt the *status quo*. In democratically organised societies disparity between state and subject in power and will leads to a long struggle which will increase the rift between the two all the time. The secularists in India, like reformers everywhere must remember this principle of balance of power between the state and the citizen.

15. *Secularism and the Constitution*

The Indian Constitution (1950) has certain features which entitle political scientists to claim that it has created a 'secular state.' The first Prime minister of India was never tired of stressing that point. And no one has seriously questioned the stand. But when Prof. K. T. Shah wanted the word 'secular' to be inscribed in the constitution he could not get support for the suggestion. Adverting to this, Dr. Smith admits that if Prof. Shah's suggestion had been accepted "it would certainly have produced a conflict with art. 25, which permits extension of state intervention in matters connected with religion in the interest of social reform." It was, therefore, to save Art. 25 from the criticism of being 'unsecular' that the expression 'secular' was objected to. After all, the secularity of a state (or its desirability) must be tested by how the area in that society adversely affected by it reacts; and not what unaffected idealists and distant theoreticians feel about it.

The resultant situation is summarised by Dr. Smith: "Freedom of religion, especially collective freedom of religion, is compromised by constitutional sanction for extension of state interference in religious affairs."[58]

This refusal to incorporate the word 'secular' in the constitution leads to interesting consequences. If the word had been included it would have strictly prevented the state from interfering with whatever the courts of the land would decide was

58. I.S.S., p. 133.

part of the religious beliefs or practices of the pēople, especially the Hindus. So having avoided it, ground was cleared for effecting Hindu religious reform in the name of social reform. This becomes all the more easy in the case of Hinduism where social reform is impossible without also affecting some religious sentiment or other. Thus it enabled the constitution-makers to inscribe art. 25 (2). (The Temple entry provision) which is a clear case of unsecularity. It is contrary to the provisions of the Agamas which forbid the entry of the untouchables into the inner premises of the temple.

16. *Secularism and Democracy*

Success of democracy in a society assumes voluntary and continued interest in the working of the state by the citizenry. This attitude of willing and fruitful participation in the government of the land is alien to a people whose culture is fundamentally religion-oriented and otherwordly in aspirations. So long as Hindu culture in its fundamentals continues to be what it is, it will inhibit the functions of democratic institutions. "India could only become a working democracy in the western sense after a revolution which strikes at the very roots of Hindu society and at Hindu tradition."[59] Dr. Smith a great protaganist of secularism and a believer in the virtues of democracy unwittingly declares, "India is a secular state in the same sense in which one can say that India is a democracy."[60]

17. *Hinduism, Communism and anarchism*

Hinduism and communism are poles apart in a significant way. To take the most basic to the Hindu, history has no meaning while to the Communist it is very meaningful. Wilfred Cantwell Smith brings out the contrast well: "The Hindu for whom ultimately history is not significant; the Christian for whom it is significant but not decisive; the Muslim for whom it is descisive but not final; the Marxist for whom it is all in all."[61] Selig S. Harrison is in doubt whether the social arrangement in caste-based Hindu India will eventually fall in with communism or will 'confound hopelessly the Marxist-Leninist scriptures.[62] And he admits that the

59. Kroestler: *The Lotus and the robot*, p. 156.
60. I.S.S., p. 500.
61. *Islam in Modern History*, p. 21.
62. *I: M.D.D.*, p. 137.

peculiarly integral position of caste in Hindu society makes the organization of a centralised national communist party a task unique in international communist experience."[63] The 'National Herald' writing on 'Marx in India' (1953) despairs as follows: "Probably Marx, even Lenin or Mao, would have wilted in the Indian climate. The incohateness of the class situation, the indeterminate, undefined intermediate forces.......the peculiarly hard social structure defy analysis" Robert T. Bower who wished to test the ideas by field verification "found greater caste bias among student communists in Indian Universities than among socialists and partisans of the Congress and the Jan Sangh."[64] So as Seligman says: "India's social landscape bends all parts to its contours and the communists are no exception."[65]

The positive aspect of a secular state lies in the interest it takes in the material welfare of the citizens. The abolition of the state is however a desire shared by the communists when they ripen into anarchists as well as those who have neither faith in nor need for the state. Thus the state is too much with the Hindus as well as the Anarchists. The traditional Hindu, though taking no steps to abolish the state, is nevertheless unconcerned about it. Real Hindu anarchism spoke through Gandhi who said "That state will be the best which governs least."[66] In India however the process of anarchism has been reversed; i.e., instead of the state withering away after the emergence of self-sufficient society as contemplated by the ultra-communist anarchist, in the Hindu society the existence of the state however becomes an anxious problem calling for its abolition. The point of difference is that the western anarchist rests only when the secular desires of men are capable of realisation independently of government, but the Hindu would consider government, an encroachment on his non-secular pre-occupations.

18. *Economic Growth*

Of late, economists and sociologists are veering round to the view that the culture pattern of a society is intrinsically related to its economic growth. "Traditional culture pattern may be so

63. *Ibid.*, p. 269.
64. *Political attitudes of Indian students*—Bureau of social science research, American University, Washington Dec. 1955, pp. 66-68.
65. *I: M.D.D.*, p. 272.
66. Quoted by S. N. Agarwal: *Gandhian constitution for Free India*, p. 58.

strong and may possess such vitality that it actually has the power to arrest and ultimately to exhaust the moment of economic growth."[67]

Fuller employment, more savings, greater production, more capital formation, mechanisation etc., are all aspects of modern economic growth and represent a secular value, the opposite of the economics of 'contentment'. The latter is compatible with a traditional, slow moving social milieu. Some well-meaning people who wish to provide a system of ever-escalating (secular) standards of living imagine that once the purely financial, mechanical pre-requisites of a modern, western industrial society are fulfilled, economic growth is an automatic consequence. They overlook the other purely sociological factors which hamper economic growth; and they are often honestly baffled by the expected results of their economic activities not turning up. "The view that economic development is a 'natural', autonomous and self-regulating process which calls for no further social, political and administrative change has always been a myth which any detailed study of the process of economic growth in Europe, the U.S. and the Soviet Union can easily refute."[68] Social conditions in India inhibiting economic growth have been specially studied and the result reported: In India's major cities "life has not necessarily become largely secularised, great differentiation of functions has not taken place and the way of life has not changed markedly for many of the indigenous population groups. Finally—little has occurred in the way of increased sophistication, rationality in behaviour, cosmopolitanism of outlook or innovation and social change."[69]

19. *Education*

The traditional view of education has always been that it should make the student a better devotee of God.[70] To the true Hindu of the higher classes Vedic education was prescribed and the ancillary subjects were intended to help vedic studies and not as independent disciplines in themselves. The students were expected to show exaggerated and formal respect to the

67. *H.C.E.D.*, p. 3.
68. *Ibid.*, p. 69.
69. Unesco: *Urbanization in Asia and the Far East*, 1957, pp. 87, 88.
70. *Kural* 2.

preceptors whose status did service for learning.[71] "The veneration or defication of the Guru is found in most sects and assumes as extreme a form among the Śaivas as among the Vaishṇavas"; "A feature of Hindu sects is the extravagant respect paid to Gurus or teachers ...... by common consent he is entitled to absolute obedience and offences against him are heinous crimes."[72] But modern education is different not only in regard to the system but also to content. Secular subjects, the scientific method of analysis and proof, and objectivity operate against traditional ideas regarding society and religion, and provide leverage to the secularist forces to-day. "Education in secular subjects, even when supervised by sectarian groups, very often undermines traditional religious belief. This occurs because of the stress of education on empirical fact as the only certain foundation for drawing conclusions, and because the objectivity of education emphasises cultural relativism ...... education in secular subjects not only tends to undermine established religion, but when some of its implications are carried to their logical conclusion, a view point is created which is in many respects a new 'religion'."[73]

The educational policy of the secular state in India seems to be to emphasise ancient values which are amenable to modern notions of nationalism, secularity, tolerance etc., and gloss over the rest or change the emphasis sufficiently to distort the picture and this leads to the triumph of pragmatism over truth, and is not different from suppression of historical truth for the sake of secularist propaganda. The reaction of the multitude to the blandishments of westernism, secularism and other modernisms is to be thoroughly impervious to them, for almost all the energy (physical and intellectual) they can summon to their aid is less than enough to wage the battle of life. This apathy relates not only to those who are classified poor and ignorant but to practically every section of society. A well established and ancient system of life found sufficient for all practical purposes and supported by a philosophy deemed respectable till the other day by all, and now by all except a group of westernised individuals, is surely enough for the majority of the unsophisticated masses. Formal education even

71. *Vide The Guru-Noodle* by Father Beschi—a description and not a satire.

72. C. Eliot: *Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. II, p. 184.

73. T. F. Hoult: *The Sociology of religion*, p. 345.

at the highest level and with the nationalist bias cannot pierce the thick shield of tradition which protects them from the effects of secularism. They have stood worse; they hope to stand this too.

20. *The Government in action*

Apart from secularism being preached through all the curricula of all educational institutions, by the very nature of modern education, the government has a notion of secularity which it wishes to spread through all the media available to them. In this process the Government of Madras in particular have adopted some symbols and some policies which a strictly 'neutral' secularist might object to. The symbol of Gopuram displayed by the Madras Government as part of their official crest is cited as an identification with one religion (Hinduism) to the exclusion of others. Surely the Gopuram reminds one rather of Hinduism than of Islam or Christianity; but at that rate, perhaps the Asoka Chakra can remind one of Buddhism.

The All India Radio, Madras broadcasting every morning devotional songs and inspired saying is behaving in a clearly unsecular manner. Similarly mikes blazing forth in the early hours Hindu devotional songs can hurt non-Hindu ears. In regard to this Dr. Smith says 'There is a certain lack of secularity to the problem in present day India".[74] It is not for a Hindu or for the secularist to decide what will or will not hurt non-Hindus. Of course the Muerrin's call to the faithful to prayer also reaches the ears of non-Muslims who could similarly object. But he does not pretend for a moment that he is a secularist.

It is not suggested that anyone is particularly positively hurt by these proceedings, but that theoretically it is wrong for a government which calls itself 'secular' to purvey gratuitious devotionalism which mostly does no more than disturb much-needed sleep.

It is said that the purpose of the secular state should be not to refrain from anything even distantly suggestive of religion or devotion but not to be exclusively attached to a particular sect or dogma. But a state which is simultaneously interested in all the creeds of the land and is busy doing evenhanded justice to all of them by providing for their publicity at public expense is really

74. *I.S.S.*, p. 246.

not secular but is multi-religious; but a multigamist does not become a bachelor merely because he is not a monogamist.

Dr. Smith discusses at some length the purpose and influence of the Hindu religious and charitable Endowments Act (1957). It is said that the purpose of the Endowments Act is to further the real intent and will of the original grantor; and the grantors had generally willed the promotion and advancement of the cause of Hindu religion; but such promotion should be in terms of what the original grantors meant by the Hindu religion and not what a secular government today says it should be. According to the Administration report (1958-59) a fortyfive day refresher course in the Āgamas is to be provided for temple priests; the priests should have read the Āgamas with the relevant sections of the constitution of a secular state as well as the Endowments Act, the latest Āgama.

Dr. Smith points out "it is no exaggeration to assert that the Commissioner for Hindu religious endowments, a public servant of the secular state, today exercises far greater authority over Hindu religion in Madras state than the Archbishop of Canterbury does over the Church of England." Article 25 (2) (a) of the Constitution of the secular state of India permits this state interference in the affairs of religious institutions and the 1959 amendment of the endowments Act was described as moving in the direction of the 'nationalisation of temples'.[75]

21. *Conclusion*

It has been my endeavour in this essay so far to say that Hinduism is basically non-secular, that the concept of secularism is a new introduction into our culture, that it is a challenge to the basic Hindu values to repel it, or turn secularist and perish, that

75. As reported in the *Hindu* dt. 19-2-66, p. 12, col. 5: "In a meeting organized by heads of *mathas* a movement for the revitalization of Hinduism was inaugurated by Sri Sankaracharya who spoke about, "the Hindu way of life being forcibly brought home through devotional songs, hymns and recitations". Speakers who supplemented his speech included the Commissioner, Hindu Religious Endowments.

While this is happening in Madras, it is very interesting to note that the Prime Minister of the Secular State of India 'declared that the teachings of the Buddha would continue to govern the administration of the 20th century India as they did in the times of King Asoka (P.T.I. news item dated May 5, 1966).

the chances seem to be that Hinduism will get on without being seriously influenced by secularism and that the Indian state though calling itself secular still finds itself busy participating in unsecular activity by legislating religious reform (perhaps called social reform). Modern reformers of Hinduism, no doubt will say "we are not non-Hindus in the sense that we reject Hindu truth, since all we reject is only Hindu error"'. But when the secular state does it, the curious wish to know who gave that state the competence to discover and reject or remedy Hindu error.

But Hinduism has absorbed all imaginable philosophical systems including atheism and as C. Eliot says "The bottles of Hinduism have always proved capable of holding all the wine poured into them."[76]

In a curious way secularism itself leads to a confirmation of unsecularism in Hindu India. The failure of secular effort, caused by lack of faith in secularism, still leaves behind the feeling that it is caused by the inexorable Karma and that all the effort that was made to alter the *status quo*, according to human plan, was most foolish and impious; the unexpected and unmitigated consequences of the failure being the deserved and appropriate punishment for such impiety.[77]

76. C. Eliot: *Hinduism and Buddhism, II,* p. 168.

77. In this context it may be interesting to know why the Hindus have never discovered their ultimate ideal in human freedom.... "Why the Orient remained so firmly planted in its primitive foundations and the West, largely under the tutelage of Greece, moved among the other interests and other ways for satisfying them, raises a question of fundamental importance. The difference in outlook and in intellectual achievement was not due to a difference in mental endowment, for the Asiatics have shown a capacity equal to the westerners. It was due chiefly to the fact that the Greeks had the advantage of living in a small but varied world which called for constant ingenuity as the price of safety. Where nature did not provide the means for ready fusion into great empires, which by their very nature would maintain only superficial control, the ancient Mediterranean dwellers had to work out artificial means for their immediate safety and welfare, and the very difficulties which they faced were their stepping stones to progress. Had the problems of Government in Greece or Rome been easy to solve by the strengthening of old taboos, as in India, or the submission to a universally accepted authority, as in China, or the fusion of both, as in Japan, Western civilization might never have discovered its ultimate ideal in human freedom." (James T. Shotwell: *The Faith of an Historian and other essays,* pp. 148, 149).

Prof. John. T. Flint summarised the relation between Hinduism and secularism as follows: "If the larger goals of secularism are to be realised, individual and corporate freedom of religion as defined by orthodox Hindus and Muslims in village India will continue to be violated."[78]

The secularist's anxiety, in modern India, is to ensure the welfare of posterity; this concern should be qualified by a realization of the possible and not merely what is desirable or even necessary. The future is conditioned but not determined by the past. We should neither underrate the conditioning nor presume the determining! Hence a cautious, deliberate, pragmatic, informed approach to the future is the utmost that enthusiasm can ask for. Anything less will be indifference born of a disdain of effort and anything more in the nature of a dogged devotion to dogma can be dismissed as quixotic if it were not also greatly tragic.

78. *The Comparative Studies in Society and History.*

THE TAHANCI KAVI; MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIAL PROHIBITIONS

By

Dr. M. D. Raghavan

(Former Head of the Department of Anthropology, Madras University)

Dr. M. D. Raghavan was Head of the Department of Anthropology at the University of Madras and later Ethnologist at the National Museum of Ceylon. He has made first hand studies of various aspects of Sinhalese traditional culture. Here in the first article he refers to the Sinhalese manuscript Tahanci Kavi, which embodies in a series of verses Sinhalese marriage customs of yore and discusses in general the cultural significance of ceremonial taboos and obstructive tactics that were a common feature of ancient marriage customs some of which survive to this day; in the second article he surveys the ancient art and architecture of Ceylon in principal places like Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa. —Ed.).

Ceylon has a rich heritage of folk culture. The field is so vast and far reaching that very much of it remains unexplored. Of customs and habits many a quaint practice prevailed which no longer function. Among the spectacular ceremonials of the past, are the customs of *Tahanci,* once part of the Sinhalese marriage customs, with an elaborate code of ceremonials obstructing the path of the advancing bride-groom, the ban functioning stage by stage to the accompaniment of *Tahanci Kavi* in a running dialogue. The verses themselves typify what undoubtedly is a conspicuous feature of Sinhalese folk-culture, of versifying and setting to folk music, social customs and ceremonies.

These customary observances of a bye-gone age are embodied in a series of verses forming a set of two manuscripts of *Tahanci Kavi* in the collections of the Colombo Museum Library indexed No. 7 K 6 consisting of 95 and No. AR 15 of 47 verses.[1]

While the Ceylon observances are in a class by themselves embodying very much the traditional background of the island's folk-culture, ceremonial taboos and obstructive tactics have been

1. For specimens of verses, see the paper on the *Tahanci Kavi* by Mr. C. M. Austin de Silva in Sir Paul Pieris Felicitation Volume, Colombo, 1956.

a general feature of marriage customs of an earlier generation among many peoples in India and elsewhere. Such customs are still observed in different parts of the world by folks who have not travelled far from the primitive stage, as people in higher stages of civilization have done. With the march of modernisation such practices have either vanished or are vanishing fast. *Tahanci Kavi* tells us of the days when the ceremonials formed part of the customary observances at Sinhalese weddings. In the course of personal enquiries into the functioning of these ceremonial taboos, I am reliably informed that these customs actually functioned in the marriage customs of Kandyan rural areas until about a decade or two ago.

An investigation of these customs which obviously arose under conditions of very simple society, takes us to a study of the origins of a body of customs which are of no functional interest to-day in the social life of the land. Nevertheless, the customs have been an interesting factor in the social life of the peoples in the not very distant past, which makes a study of it of undoubted cultural value, apart from its survival value to anthropology. Rites of resistance or a show of force as part of the marriage customs, set early anthropologists speculating. A disposition to put too literal a construction on these ceremonials was evident and to read in these ceremonials, a stage of marriage by capture as the normal mode of taking a wife. Thus J. F. Mc Lennan (*Primitive Marriage,* Edinburgh, 1865) evolves the institution of exogamy, first so named by him, from "Marriage by Capture" which he deduces from the prevailing marriage customs. And "Capture of Wives" was a situation brought about, according to Mc Lennan, by female infanticide, which resulting in a scarcity of women led to the foreign-born woman being favoured as against the home-born. Whereas no one theory can be said to hold the field as accounting for exogamy, Mc Lennan's theory founded on a widespread female infanticide, which is simply not true, is wholly baseless and untenable. And as a sociological explanation of the marriage ceremonials, it fails of its purpose. The so-called capture of the bride seen in marriage ceremonies, may be as Van Gennep suggests "*a rite de passage,* a way of symbolising the transference of the bride from the maternal to the paternal group".

Related to this are a complex of ideas turning on primitive notions of sex, and of sex-life and sex relations of primitive peoples.

Woman has been a puzzle to man. Her personality structure is altogether different, and psychologically she is incomprehensible. The physiological and functional stages of a woman's life, puberty, menstruation, pregnancy and child-birth were more than what primitive men could understand, and was subject to magical influences. To protect himself from evil influences which he would otherwise be subjected to, he instinctively avoided contact with woman, except under safeguards. These avoidances fixed themselves in his day to day life as customs of taboo directed against the woman. They are not merely conventional customs of avoidance, but are fundamental to the functional sex relations and the sex life of the people. Man from early days occupied a far superior status by virtue of his occupational activities and his relations with the cult of spirits and deities, functions from which women were rigidly excluded. This not only separated the sexes, each sex developed a front of its own pattern. Women formed a fraternity of their own. The special problems that beset womankind, puberty, menstruation, marriage, pregnancy and child birth, have made all women kin, developing a feminine block still dominant in the life of simple folks and in rural life generally. Marriage is the one great step in life which compulsorily brought the sexes together, for union is inexorable to life, whatever be the sex differences and the sex taboo. And either sex recognised that each is essential to the other in the business of living, and that however separated by sex taboos, marriage is inevitable. Though inevitable, there is the problem of the sex taboo which has ruled the life of the sexes, which demands special observance. The sex taboo, each sex being taboo to the other, must first be overcome; otherwise there can be no union, no companionship and no family life. This overcoming of sex taboo is no light matter. Different societies developed different modes of breaking the sex taboo, the primordial feeling of separatenss and isolation between sexes. These practices in the course of ages enlarged the scope of the marriage ceremonials. Methods and modes of bringing about a rapproachement between the sexes are thus among the main causation of marriage customs of peoples.

Marriage in primitive society comes at the end of a long series of preparation of the sexes. Both boys and girls pass through ceremonies of initiation, which mark the beginning of a new life. Initiation into man's estate has lost its place in modern social life.

On a higher plane, this idea is reflected in the *Śrutis* of the Hindus, which tell us that a girl before marriage is under the protective influences of supernatural forces. As a child, she is under the influence of Soma, under whose protection she is winsome, and pleasant, soft and calm. Next she is under the influence of Gandharva until puberty, the period when she develops the feeling of *lajjā* or bashfulness and grows in beauty and charm of person. Thereafter for three years, she feels the darts of Kāma, after which she is under the protective influence of God Agni. On marriage Agni hands her over to the protection of her husband.

Initiation into womanhood synchronising as it does with the physiological changes in the maiden, still prevails in rural society. Boys and girls in this condition undergoing rites of initiation, are secluded from the gaze and contagion of the opposite sex, for sex taboo is strong and must be preserved, any infringement being fraught with great danger to either sex. Following rites of initiation, primitive tribes developed their own customs and observances calculated to overcome sex taboo and prepare the sexes to ultimate union.

With the great day of marriage dawning, both sexes are agog-, each true to its own ideas. On the part of the bridegroom and his Kin, he is on the threshold of contact with one who comes with the long trail of evil influences inherent in the woman, and he must protect himself from the peril he runs into from such evil influences. In this business of neutralising sex taboo, either sex acts according to the sex traditions and conscience of each. The bride acts her part with a sense of her own responsibility. She and her kindred do not yield to the advances of the bridegroom. She resists; the whole kinship group of the bride resists. It is a stiff resistance that the bride's party stages. This is adequately met by the bridegroom and his associates. Emotions are aroused on either side and resistance becomes a really serious business. The participants are keenly aware that it is all for their ultimate good and for the good of the united sex life. Primitive society scarcely takes life easy, and the hard knocks that either side receives, is taken in the right spirit. All is indeed fair in love and war. In societies where man is domineering as among the Zulus, the women have their own mode of dealing with the male. The rescue of the bride from the hands of the bridegroom and his men is enacted with great determination. The bride's maids rush in to free the bride, even the bride taking her part in the bid for

her freedom. The bridegroom no doubt is the ultimate winner, as it is meant to be. The adventure has the desired effect. The psychological effect is great, the taboo is overcome and the couple starts on their family life. The fundamental taboos in the life of the wife, such as menstruation, pregnancy and childbirth continue to be duly respected and observed. Examples of such resistance or show of resistance by the bridal party can be multiplied *ad infinitum*. The nearest parallels come from India where a number of the primitive groups practised or still practise the prohibition ceremonials. Many instances are cited by Thurston. Speaking of the marriage ceremonies of the Khonds, he gives the following account of the reception to the bridegroom and his party: "A Khond finds his wife from among the women of any mutah (village) other than his own. On the day fixed for the bride being taken home to her husband's house, the pieces of broom in her ears are removed, and are replaced by brass rings. The bride is covered over with a red blanket, and carried astride on her uncle's back towards the husband's village, accompanied by the young women of her own village. Music is played and in the rear are carried brass playthings, such as horses, etc., for the bridegroom from the bride's father. On the road at the village boundary the procession is met by the bridegroom and the young men of his village with their heads and bodies wrapped up in blankets and cloths. Each is armed with a bundle of long thin bamboo sticks. The young women of the bride's party fight with sticks, stones, and clods of earth, which the young men ward off with the bamboo sticks. A running fight is in this manner kept up until the village is reached, when the stone-throwing invariably ceases, and the bridegroom's uncle, snatching up the bride, carries her off to her husband's house. This fighting is by no means child's play, and the men are sometimes seriously injured. The whole party is then entertained by the bridegroom as lavishly as his means will permit. On the day after the bride's arrival, a buffalo and pig are slaughtered and eaten, and, upon the bride's attendants returning home on the evening of the second day, a male and female buffalo, or some less valuable present is given to them."

Fights and counter fights either real or symbolic, mark the marriage ceremonies of many a primitive people. The bride and her group form the aggressors. What is essential is the resistance, more feigned, than real, though it is all highly realistic. The initiative comes from the bride. She cannot yield meekly and

walk away with the bridegroom, wreathed in smiles. She indeed has a dual part to play. On the one side is her own group from which she is being spirited away. She has a real hesitancy to leave her kin and to being transferred to the bridegroom's. On the other hand, her resistance is vital to a really effective obstruction essential to bring about a reciprocity of relations between the bridegroom and the bride and to strengthen the bonds of sex between herself and her husband. The bride is now successfully weaned from the isolation of her sex life and her kinship circle, and from now on she becomes part and parcel of the sex life of the bridegroom.

Something of this idea is very possibly reflected in the quaint ceremonial of the maternal uncles carrying the bride and bridegroom respectively astride their shoulders, at a Brahmin wedding in orthodox society, the uncles making a show of pursuing each other, each eluding the other, until tired of prancing about, they bring their charges close to each other, when the couple exchange garlands. Here the parellelism with the Khond marriage customs of the maternal uncles carrying astride the bride and bridegroom is evident, without the bridegroom's uncle snatching the bride from the bride's uncle as in the Khond marriage. This symbolic and picturesque ceremony which I had the pleasure of witnessing, has almost vanished from Brahmin wedding ceremonials.

Belonging generally to the same idea of creating a sex bond between the bridegroom and the bride are a group of recreational customs designed to bring about reciprocal cordiality between the couple. Among such customs a purely feminine ceremonial is the Nalangu on the second day of a Brahmin wedding. The bridegroom and the bride, sitting at ease in the company of the ladies of the bride's kin, though really it is not without considerable embarrassment to the bridegroom, indulge in throwing pellets of flowers at each other, to the accompaniment of melodious singing by the women of the party. The bride anointing the face and hands of the bridegroom with sandalwood paste in water, and the latter paying the same attention to the bride, concludes this interesting sex play.

Of the many other forms of overcoming sex resistance, is the exchange of gifts between the bridegroom and the bride. The underlying idea is not that of making a rich gift, dowry, by the bride or a bride-price by the husband, but of making a gift of

something that would symbolise the giver, "tendering a pledge or part of one self." For its simplicity and its sex appeal there is no more apt illustration of this than the old Vedda tribal custom of the bride making a gift to the bridegroom of an apron string of Niyanda fibre stitched by her own hands. Gifts exchanged between the bride and the bridegroom among tribes are of little intrinsic value. It is the mutual personal association that invests these little gifts with real significance. This simple idea of a personal pledge between the bride and the bridegroom has assumed serious proportions developing into the much abused institution of the dowry. A rather queer custom reminiscent of this idea is the appropriation by the bridegroom of some little thing that belongs to the bride. An interesting example is afforded in the marriage ceremonials of a South Canara Group, which Thurston describes:— "On the second day of a Heggade (Canarese cultivator) marriage, a pretence of stealing a jewel from the person of the bride is made. The bridegroom makes away with the jewel before dawn, and, in the evening, the bride's party proceeds to the house where the bridegroom is to be found. The owner of the house is told that a theft has occurred in the bride's house, and is asked whether the thief has taken shelter in his house. A negative answer is given, but the bride's party conducts a regular search. In the meantime a boy has been dressed up to represent the bridegroom. The searching party mistakes this boy for the bridegroom, arrests him, and produces him before the audience as the culprit. The disguised bridegroom, who is proclaimed to be the thief, throws his mask at the bride, when it is found to the amusement of all that he is not the bridegroom. The bride's party then, confessing their inability to find the bridegroom, requests the owner of the house to produce him. He is then produced, and conducted in procession to the bride's house."

Instances popularly considered to be marriage by capture will be found on examination to be examples of sham or feigned fights, mimic assaults or conflicts, resistance and obstruction tactics forming part of the marriage customs of different peoples. Such are the resistances staged by the Khonds, the Bushmen, the Roro of British New Guinea, the Magh tribes of Chittagong, or of the Malay marriage customs, easily understandable as obstruction ceremonials calculated to overcome sex resistance. As a normal mode of acquiring a wife, capture as such cannot be said to have prevailed with humanity. Of fighting over a woman, we no doubt have

instances in the history and romance of every land, the victor appropriating her as the prize of the victory. It has reputedly been the privilege of the Kshatriyas or the warrior class, the second division in the four fold Varnas of the Hindus in the epic age of India, to capture the woman they took a fancy for, resorting to arms in the process. Manu terms this the Aśura form of marriage, a mode which he rightly condemns. It never was the normal mode of taking a companion for life, in India, or elsewhere.

Manu recognised four forms of marriage — the Brāhma, Daiva, Ārṣa and Prājāpatya. Brāhma is the form in which the father spontaneously offers his daughter to a suitable husband. This is the normal Hindu form of marriage prevalent today. In the Daiva, the father makes the family priest responsible for performing the marriage rites of his daughter. The third Ārṣa, is the kind of marriage in which the suitor makes a gift of a pair of cows to the bride. In its elementary principle, it is the idea of a personal gift by the bridegroom to the bride which developed in later days into the most elaborate system of exchange of presents between the bride and bridegroom. In the fourth or Prājāpatya, though it is the bride's father who gives away his daughter, the initiative in proposing the marriage comes from the bridegroom. The son tells his father that he desires to marry the girl of his choice.

Manu refers to other special forms of marriage — the Aśura, Rākshasa, Gāndharva and the Paisācha forms, the privileges of the warrior class or the Kshatriyas. The Aśura and Paisācha forms are condemned by Manu. The Aśura is marriage by capture in its literal sense. Many of the heroes of the epics exercised this privilege. Mutual desire and union forms the *Gāndharva* type, eulogised in the Kāmasūtras. The classic example is the union of King Dushyanta and Śākuntala. Even in such cases the Smrtis enjoin ceremonial offerings to the holy fire and the circumambulation, or the going round the fire by the couple. The *Paiśācha* as the name signifies, is despicable and is condemned by all authorities, marrying a girl under the influence of liquor, or when of unsound mind. There is yet another form very much favoured in the epics — the Swayamvara or the self choice — the privilege of princesses, more so when they are highly beautiful and accomplished, and princes vie with one another for her hand. Her father holds a Swayamvara to which princes are duly invited. The princess walks about with a garland in hand. Whoever she takes a

fancy for, she garlands. The choice may be preceded by a trial of strength, and the victor is rewarded with the hand of the maiden. Sīta Swayamvaram is the classical instance, where Rāma wins the hand of Sīta by his skill in archery or the Draupadi Swayamvaram, in which the five Pāṇḍava princes win the hand of Draupadi. A form of self choice is what arises in the most unlikely contingency of a father neglecting the interests of his daughter. She herself finds a husband for her. Manu has certainly been most far sighted and practical, and very much of what Manu prescribed is adopted in the Hindu social life of today.

Such terms as marriage by capture and marriage by purchase that the early anthropologists coined, have obscured the ideas which underlie the customs and habits, often invoking the catch phrase 'marriage by capture', to explain customs which are not so easy of explanation, customs which go far deep into the social psychology and the social life of the peoples and cannot rightly be interpreted in terms of notions of capture. These customs arose in the early days of humanity fulfilling the needs and solving the problems which faced primitive man, and the civilised men inherited ideas and patterns of behaviour which are part of the common heritage of mankind. A good many of the present social customs and habits can be traced to the influences of this early stage of humanity. Some of these we recognise today as trails of the past. To such trails of the past belong the ceremonials embodied in the *Tahanci Kavi* of the Sinhalase.

ART AND ARCHITECTURE OF CEYLON

By

M. D. Raghavan

The chronicles of Ceylon, *Mahāvamśa* and *Dīpavamśa* narrate the story of Vijaya, the adventurous prince of Vanga in Upper India, who about the year 483 B.C. left Sihapura with a band of seven hundred companions and sailed down South. The wind blowing where it listeth, drove Vijaya and his men to the shores of Lanka. It was too hazardous an enterprise for modern times to visualise and perhaps could not have been accomplished without divine aid. It is chronicled that Vijaya arrived in Ceylon shortly before the death of Gautama Buddha who in a prophetic vision had learnt of Vijaya's adventure and commended him to the care of God Sakra. The hand of divinity is indeed evident in the succession of events that followed. Kuveṇi the daughter of the Yakka ruler, came to the help of Vijaya and with her aid, Vijaya overcame the Yakka hordes. Now the problem arose of a royal princess worthy of a king. Vijaya's companions urged him to renounce Kuveṇi and this was done. Vijaya thereupon sent a mission to the Court of the Pāṇḍyan king at Madurai for a princess to be his wife. Vijaya reigned for 38 years, 483 to 445 B.C. in his capital city Tāmbapanni. The Sinhalese monarchy thus started, lasted till 1815 A.D., the year of the Kandyan Convention, under which King Śrī Vikrama Rāja Sinha was deposed and all Ceylon became a British Colony. It was a monarchy inspired by the high traditions of royalty, and Ceylon had the good fortune to have had a long line of eminent kings who brought prosperity to the land and renown for themselves.

Vijaya was succeeded by his brother's son, Pāṇduvāsudeva brought over from North India. His grandson Pāṇdukābhaya was the next king and began his reign in 377 B.C. With him began the glories of Anurādhapura, the new city he founded, so called because it was begun under the constellation of Anurādha, as *Mahāvamśa* tells us. It is hard to think of a city better planned, almost modern in its outlook and amenities, with separate quarters for Brahmans, monastery for wandering mendicants, hermitage

for ascetics and houses for the Jains and others. The city continued to be the royal residence for almost twelve centuries, from 4th Century B.C. to late 7th century A.D.

Anurādhapura grew in magnificence during the reign of king Devanāmpiyya Tissa, the contemporary and friend of Emperor Asoka. This period of Ceylon history is so much oriented to the missionary zeal of Asoka that Ceylon history from Devānampiyya Tissa 247-207 B.C. to king Mahāśena 325-352 A.D. is often alluded to as the Asokan era of Ceylon history. This period witnessed the first blossoming of art in Ceylon under the stimulus of the Buddhist art and architecture of India. The first of the sacred structures of Ceylon is the *Tūpārāma Dagoba* of Anurādhapura remarkably well-proportioned and artistic, the Dagoba which set the model for all the later Dagobas of Ceylon. It enshrines a collar bone of the Buddha.

In the vicinity of Anurādhapura is the hill of Mihintale, the hill which commemorates the name of Mahīnda the son of Asoka, (according to Ceylon chronicles) whom he senṭ to king Devanāmpiyya Tissa, with this message:

> "I have taken refuge in the Buddha, his religion and his Sangha. Ruler of men, imbue thy mind with the truth of these supreme blessings, and with unfeigned faith, do thou also take refuge in this salvation."

To visit the "Bed of Mahīnda", the bare rock recess in which he lived the life of an ascetic, is immensely rewarding, climbing up the 1,840 steps cut out of the rock, to the top of the hill. Here too is the Ambastala Dagoba at the site where Mahīnda landed, and came face to face with king Devanāmpiyya Tissa engaged in royal sports. The sacredness of the day is today celebrated as the festival day of Poson, with gorgeous processions all over the island.

Almost at the foot of the hill of Mihintale to the right is the reputed *Kaṇṭaka Cetiya,* altogether different in design from the rest of the sacred edifices of Anurādhapura. Among its special sacred features are the four altars at the cardinal points bearing ornamental sculptures in low relief, the stele, and conventional motifs such as plants with leaves and flowers rising from a vase. These stelae are "strongly reminiscent of the Buddhist art of Central India, particularly the bas reliefs of Bharhut and Sanchi."

To this period also belongs the magnificent *Ruvan Velisaya Dagoba,* which dominates all Anurādhapura. Among the larger Dagobas, it is the one which has been reclaimed, renovated and restored to its ancient splendour. King Dutugemunu (101-77 B.C.) began its building, and it was completed by his successor Sadha Tissa. Referred to in the chronicles as the Mahā Tūpa, its inauguration was a big event of the Buddhist world. At this inauguration, a deputation of monks from Mahiṣamanda (Mysore) and from Vana Vāsa of North Kanara were present, on the invitation of the king, as *Mahāvamsa* narrates.

To accommodate the large fraternity of monks, King Dutugemunu built the *Lohapāsāda,* the Brazen Palace nine storeys high, with a hundred apartments in each, decorated with silver and roofed over with sheets of copper. Today all that remains are hundreds of standing stone columns in a series of rows.

To the south of these ruins is the Shrine of the Sacred Bo-tree, the sapling from the Bo-tree at Bodh-Gaya, ceremoniously brought over by Theri Sangamitta, daughter of Asoka. The entrance to the Sacred Bo-tree shrine is an imposing Makara Tōraṇa, recalling the Tōraṇa at Sānchi.

An example of a Stupa left to Nature, practically unrenovated is the Abhayagiri Dagoba, vast and extensive. Begun by king Vatta Gamini, it was enlarged by king Gajabāhu, 174-196 A.D.

Gajabāhu was a heroic ruler, who carried his military exploits to South India. He is remembered too for his cultural mission, and for his presence at the first installation of the Paṭṭini cult by Cheran Emperor Senguttuvan. Gajabāhu took with him the anklets of Paṭṭini, more popularly known to South India today as Kaṇṇaki, and the sacred texts used in her worship. Thus was introduced the Paṭṭini cult, the most widespread perhaps of the folk cults of the rural Sinhalese today.

The last king of this era is Mahāsena 325-362 A.D. To him Ceylon owes the large reservoirs which look more like natural lakes than artificially dug tanks. His architectural fame rests on the construction of *Jetavanārāma,* one of the largest of the Dagobas of Anurādhapura.

The second historical and cultural phase of Ceylon covers a period between the fifth and twelfth centuries. Here we are

in a position to date the sacred structures and sculptures more precisely. Among sculptures of this age, is the Moonstone, really in the shape of the half-moon, as its Sinhalese name, *Sanda Kadé Pahana* signifies. The earliest form of the Moonstone is the plain specimen of Amarāvati, undecorated. In Ceylon this developed into a highly artistic object. Following an ornamental outer border, are a series of half-circles one below the other. These feature severally, a procession of animals, the elephant, horse, lion and the bull, a scroll of foliage and a row of sacred geese. The central section bears carvings of the lotus in leaves, bud and blossoms.

Of other decorative sculptures, are the highly decorated flight of steps to the ancient Vihāras of Anurādhapura. Most conspicuous are the Guard Stones of figures of the Nāgarāja. Lotus petal mouldings and figures of dwarfs decorate the steps.

Of free standing sculptures, we have a few. Among the most striking is the *Panel of Lovers* carved on a block of stone. This panel is strongly suggestive of the early religious art of Middle India. A popular interpretation speaks of the figures as Śiva and Pārvati in an amorous pose.

Another group represents a sculpture of *Man and Horse*, remarkable for the contemplative expression of the face and calm and dignified pose of the man, with the figure of a horse peering behind.

These two panels belong to the Issurumuniya Buddhist Temple of Anurādhapura. In structure this temple is partly rock-cut, recalling the technique of the rock hewn shrines of Mahābalipuram of the Pallava times, 7th century A.D. The parallelism with the art of Mahābalipuram is well sustained by the group of sculptures of elephants emerging out of a cleft in the rock. Remarkably alike is the ponderous tusker, with its uplifted trunk.

Here I may make a reference to another rock-hewn shrine the Dambulla rock-cut shrine between Kandy and Sigiriya. The entire temple is rock-cut, with a number of sculptures within carved out of the rock. A dome of rock almost grazes your head.

Taking leave of Anurādhapura, we will proceed to Polonnaruwa. Anurādhapura for political reasons was abandoned as the capital of the kingdom in the seventh century A.D., and kings and counsellors moved on to another site over which rose the illus-

trious city of Polonnaruwa. The standing monuments of Polonnaruwa are all of this historical phase. *Vijayabāhu I* (1056-1111) who liberated the kingdom from the hands of the Choḷas, was the first king who shifted his capital to Polonnaruwa. He built the Temple of the Tooth, now seen on the site, and other religious structures.

But the splendour of Polonnaruwa, we owe to the greatest monarch of the age, *Parākramabāhu I,* 1153-1186 A.D. known to history as Parākramabāhu the Great. He indeed very much justified his significant name. It is this statesman-artist and scholar who converted a small town into a "poem in stone", the remains of which lie scattered in carved columns, dagobas and sculptures, whose architectural grandeur is today the admiration of the world. He adorned the city with massive palaces, picture galleries, garlands and parks, which recall to us the standard of life of the age, from the eighth to the thirteenth centuries.

Among the most impressive of the monuments of Polonnaruwa are the rock-cut sculptures at the Gal Vihāra. Here are four sculptures. On the left is the colossal figure of the Buddha seated on a Vajrāśana in *dhyāni* mudra. Adjacent to this, in an excavated cave is another seated Buddha attended by a divinity on either side. At the extreme right is a gigantic recumbent Buddha. At the head of the recumbent Buddha is a standing figure, assumed to be Ananda. As you stand admiring the group, it impresses the visitor as the scene of the Parinirvāṇa of the Buddha, with the grief-stricken Ānanda watching the Master passing into eternal rest.

Noted for its wealth of frescoes of scenes from Buddhist stories is the *Tivanka House.* Before you get to the Tivanka House, is a stone bath in the form of a full blown lotus. Picture to yourself a lotus flower of granite in full bloom over 24 feet in diameter with five concentric lamina of eight petals gradually diminishing to a stamen. That is the Stone Bath as you see today.

Below the bend of the Tank, Topawewa, is the Potgul Vihāra a circular shrine, brick built, with a vaulted roof. Here is the spectacular rock-cut statue popularly regarded to be a statue of the Great King Parākramabāhu. In his hands he holds a palm-leaf manuscript, without its supporting slabs. The alternative view is held by some that it is a figure of the sage Agastya. Against this

view, it is contended that the sculpture "does not conform to any known iconographic type of Indian religions".

A distinctive type of Sinhalese architecture of the period is the *Vattadage*. As its name denotes it is circular in design, marked by concentric circles of monolithic pillars, which support a domed wooden roof. Two well known examples are the Vattadage of Polonnaruwa and the one at Maṇḍalagiri otherwise known as Medirigiriya, north of Minneriya Tank, in Anurādhapura, the latest to be recovered from the jungles.

Nissanka Malla who succeeded Parākramabāhu I made his own contribution to the splendour of Polonnaruwa. We have today the remains of his palace. To him is also ascribed the *Latamal tapaya,* the Flower Altar. Daintily carved pillars rise in the form of opening lotus buds to support a stone platform. Nissanka Malla also built the Rankot Vihāra, the largest of the completed Dagobas of Polonnaruwa, Adjacent to this is the *Lankatilaka,* the largest shrine in Polonnaruwa. Built of brick, it contains a gigantic statue of Buddha. Despite its condition, without the head, it is yet impressive.

Now for a brief mention of *Sigiriya,* the rock fortress unique in history as the royal residence of king Kasyapa, 5th century A.D. Here in the rock pockets are the famous *Sigiriya Frescoes,* which fascinate the student of art and tourist alike. Though there are remains elsewhere of the pictorial art of the Sinhalese, the Sigiriya Frescoes hold the pride of place, and are as unique for the technique of the art, as for their excellent preservation.

To summarise the story of Ceylonese architecture and art in their relation to India. The earliest period of Buddhist arts in Ceylon covers approximately 300 B.C. to 300 A.D. The magnificent and colossal stūpas, the ornamental and decorative architecture of Anurādhapura, the sculptures of dwarfs and of Nāga deities, the moonstones, the stone-railings of Anuradhapura recalling those of Sānchi and Amarāvatī, — all these and more that defy enumeration, characterise the earliest Buddhist art of Ceylon.

The latter part of this epoch, from 100 A.D. to 300 A.D. is distinguished by the adoption of typical Andhra art, as seen in the Buddhist sculptures of Amarāvati and reproduced in a number of Ceylonese sculptures of the Buddha and Bodhisatvas.

Indian art in all its glory is distinctive of the Gupta Age of ancient India from about 300 A.D. to 600 A.D. It established its traditions in the plastic and fine arts of both India and Ceylon. The Toluvil stone sculpture of the Buddha at Anurādhapura is among the outstanding figures typical of this age, the tradition of which was continued in the metallic arts of Ceylon. The tradition is represented by the innumerable outstanding products of art in Ceylon already reviewed.

When the Gupta influence faded out, Ceylonese architecture was mainly influenced by that of South India beginning with the Pallavas from 600 A.D. the architecture being called the Dravidian for distinction.

From the earliest Pallava monuments of Mahendra Varma I (610-640 A.D.) to the fall of the Vijayanagara Empire in 1600 A.D. the 'Dravidian' architecture went through different phases which varied with the dynasties of kings. We thus have the main styles of Dravidian architecture — the Pallava, the Chola, and the Vijayanagar. Of the sacred shrines of the Pallava times in Ceylon are the Koneswara temple at Trincomallee, and the temple of Tiruketiswaram in Jaffna peninsula. Of the Chola style are the Śiva devalas of Polonnaruwa. Of the Vijayanagar style of architecture are the Lanka Tilaka and the Gadaladeniya temples in the vicinity of Kandy.

Early Buddha images of Ceylon have the robe, the drapery in regular schematic folds. This is the style of the image that originated in the art of Amarāvatī, from the first to third centuries A.D. Images of the later Anurādhapura and Polonnaruwa are in a different style. The drapery is not in folds but is of thin clinging material. The great Stone Buddha in the ruins of Abhayagiri Vihāra of Anurādhapura is of this type.

Images of the Buddha with both shoulders covered, as we find in later Indian images, are almost unknown in Ceylon. The seated images are mostly in the attitude of meditation with the palm placed one over the other. The disposition of the legs in the Ceylon images is never in *padmāsana,* the interlocked dhyāni Yogi pose of Indian art, but in *ardhapadmāsana,* the folded legs lying gently one over the other.

Almost at the same period of time, and side by side with the sculptures in stone, arose the metallic arts of Ceylon, the art

specially of images in bronze. These fall broadly into two divisions. Bronze images of the Buddha and bronzes of deities of Mahāyāna Buddhism, form one division, and bronzes of Hindu gods and goddesses form the second division. These are among the priceless collections exhibited in the Colombo National Museum.

The oldest of the Buddha bronzes is a large sedant Buddha found at Badulla in 1876. Mahāyānism has had a brief but vigorous career in Ceylon. This has left us a legacy of excellent specimens of the Sinhalese bronze art. The most resplendent of this is a standing figure of Tārā discovered at a site between Trincomalee and Bhatticaloa in 1880. Nothing altogether comparable to this statue in its stylistic features have come from South India and obviously represents a high standard of the bronze art of Ceylon. Allied to this is a seated Tārā image of small size found in 1940 near Kurunegala. Among other notable figures is a large bronze of Bodhisattva Maitreya, the Loving One, in the attitude of a teacher. Another of the Mahāyāna images is a unique figure of Avalōkiteśvara Padmapāṇi seated on a *padmāsana.* A recently discovered Mahāyāna image is a bronze found at Mandalagiri Vihāra.

I may also here refer to a series of bronzes of Guardian Gods, the divinities known as the Catur Mahārāja Deva, the Four Great Kings of Buddhist legends. These correspond to the *Satara Varan Deviyo* of the Sinhalese, popularly designated, Vibhīshaṇa, West; Saman, East; Kataragama or Skanda, South; and Aiyanār, North. In classical Hindu mythology, the Guardian Gods correspond to the names, Varuṇa (West); Indra (East); Yama (South) Kuvera (North).

A rich series of bronzes of Hindu Gods and Goddesses have been discovered from the site of the Śiva Devalas of Polonnaruwa, comparable with the best in the South Indian bronze art. The latest to be recovered from this site are a number of bronzes of the same type discovered in 1960. These include two images of Śiva as Naṭarāja.

MEDICINE—INDIGENOUS AND MODERN, A JUDICIOUS SYNTHESIS

By

S. Ramaswami, L.I.M.

(*Medical Practioner, Anamalai, S. India*)

(Sri S. Ramaswami is a practitioner in Indian Medicine and has a keen interest in finding ways and means for a useful integration of Ayurveda with Modern medicine. In this paper he offers for consideration his suggestions based on his personal experience.—Ed.).

With the advent of Independence there has been a cultural awakening in India and the urge for the restoration of her traditional arts which suffered and languished during the British rule, is seeking satisfaction in several fields like dance, music, arts and crafts, medicine etc. Among the indigenous systems of medicine Āyurveda is receiving attention and its value is being recognised more and more. A scientific study of it is being made; search for new remedies from Indian plants is being undertaken. The Indian Council of Medical Research and Indian Council of Agricultural Research have begun to evince considerable interest in medicinal plants and set up many projects for carrying out scientific evaluation of their properties. The results are promising; the discovery of Reserpine by CIBA Research Laboratories, Switzerland and the demonstration of its value in the treatment of high blood pressure has attracted international attention. Investigation is being carried out on Saptarangi (Casearia esculenta Roxb) which is regarded as a cure for Diabetes; wild banana seeds are said to be beneficial in the prevention and control of smallpox; good results have been achieved in the investigation of Girikarkata (Podophyllum hexandrum Royle) for anticarcinogenic action; Jatmamsi (Nardostachys jatmansi DC) and Vacha (Acorus Calamus Linn) are considered as valuable remedies for their anti-convulsive and tranquillising effects; Guggulu (Commiphora, mukul-Hook Ex-Stocks, Engl.) is being studied for rheumatoid arthritis in particular, and the effect on sugar and fat metabolism in general; Asthi samhar (Cissus quadrangularis Linn.) is considered good for healing of fractures; Bhallataka (Semicarpus

anocardium Linn f.) and Rohitka (Tecomilla undulata) are said to be useful for tissue growth.[1]

The psychology of medical treatment, described in ancient medical texts, and a notable feature of Āyurveda has come to be appreciated. The bringing in more and more of psychic factors in the causation and course of physical illness such as strain and stress in the case of some digestive troubles, emotion as a cause of overactivity of the Thyroid, are but few examples.

The fact is that the ayurvedic notion of treatment and drug covers a wide range. Hence Charaka observed "Nothing exists in the world of thought and matter which is not medicine." The basic approach to health and disease in Āyurveda is a synthetic and constitutional approach. "The three-fold world of physical, physiological and psychological matter has a simultaneous bearing on the complex organismal phenomena."[2]

The theory of Āyurveda based on Panchabhūtas and tridoshas is highly rational and I cannot see at any stage either in the pharmacology or therapeutics of a drug or in the symptoms described of various illnesses and drugs prescribed, any discord or lack of application of the fundamental principles so firmly laid. The various aspects of medicine in its wide import are well correlated and it can bear scientific investigation. "Of course it is possible that behind traditional usage 'there lurks secret truṭh from which modern research might take its flight towards a new insight'. It has happened over and over again that the knowledge of old women on the basis of scientific investigation was proved to be correct. 'Mother India and her aged daughter, traditional medicine with its treasure of materia medica may represent the old woman's true knowledge. One may expect even better results from an examination of Hindu remedies than from that of western prescriptions."[3] The composition of every individual drug can be assessed in terms of its Panchabhuthic content. The therapeutic action, in most cases has been fixed not by any arbitrary standard or by actual trial in human beings but by the rational expectation

1. Search for new remedies from Indian plants by Prof. Dwarakanath in *The Hindu,* dated 27-4-1965.

2. Pandit Shiv Sharma: Ayurveda in *Pushpanjali,* 1965, p. 128.

3. Dr. H. R. Zimmer: *Hindu Medicine,* Preface by Ludwig Edelstein, p. LIV.

that by virtue of its composition a particular drug should act in a particular manner, classifying certain exceptions to the rule as peculiar idiosyncracies known as "Prabhava" in Āyurveda. Again in many cases the treatment is aimed at the removal of the cause a fundamental principle in treatment with Modern Medicine. For a proper understanding, appreciation and successful application of Āyurveda a study of 'Darśanas' is prescribed. In Sanskrit, Philosophy is called Darśana, derived from the root 'dris' meaning 'to see.' With the Hindus Philosophy is not a mere intellectual pursuit of an abstract ideal, but the actual perception or realization of tangible results. To the modern mind philosophy and the effects of certain forms of yoga practice may appear to be an abstract ideal, but it is accepted that in trance (a form of samadhi according to yoga practice) the body is in a state of suspended animation. It proves that there can be a voluntary control even over the autonomous nervous system as may be seen from the facts that a line of distinction has been drawn between somatic and cellular death; that, though for all practical purposes, cessation of circulation and respiration is considered a definite sign of death, according to jurisprudence, putrefaction alone is considered a positive sign of death.

This defence of Āyurveda is not however meant to deny the great achievements of Modern Medicine. It has made remarkable progress particularly on the side of surgery. It has saved thousands of lives. To deny this fact or detract from it in the pride that ancient Indian surgery too has recorded unprecedented accomplishments, that we read of laparotomy, of the operation of cataract and of plastic surgery in old texts is to look at Modern Medicine with a prejudice. This ancient glory has little place in the advanced modern age except as a matter of academic interest.

I hold no brief to any system of Medicine. My aim is only to emphasise the fact that a judicious synthesis of Āyurveda and Modern medicine would be of considerable benefit to the sick and the suffering. I think that when an attempt to correlate the findings and actions of drugs in Āyurveda with the methods and terminologies used in Modern Medicine becomes successful a live interest to study the ancient science with an open mind will have been created. I have referred before to some Āyurvedic drugs which have been or are being studied. Let me give one or two examples which have come in the range of my knowledge or practice.

Dhanwanthara Gatika, in Āyurvedic Pharmacopoeia, is a preparation which is used as a sedative in pregnancy. This is also used in Hiccough etc. In practice this is found to be a sedative that can be used over a long period with impunity. It appears to exert a mild sedation without any concomitant soporific effect usually found in most drugs of this group, and without the depression produced by other groups of sedatives. The sedation, though mild, is definite. It is really worth an analytical study to find out if its effects are local, or if it has any action on the central nervous system in the area of the hypothalamus or if it interferes with the sympathetic parasympathetic balance or if some of the components of the preparation contain medullary stimulants to counteract the depressant effect of others, if any. The two chief ingredients in the preparation are civet and the maconium of the (new born) elephant. These two preparations are reported to have been used in Gastralgia and intestinal colic, and Epilepsy respectively by village folks from time immemorial. Even today civet is used by villagers externally for its anti-inflammatory and/or counter-irritant and anodyne properties.

Sathavaree—another drug—may be taken for investigation. Many a preparation found highly useful in functional uterine bleeding contains this drug. The effect simultates a gonodal stimulant and it appears to be indicated in cases of menstrual disorders resulting from deficiency of pituitary gonadotropins. Many preparations suggested for the cure of sterility also contain this drug; quite likely this acts in cases where sterility is due to failure of ovulation.

The common field pea and the plant known as Lithospermum ruderale are orally used by the natives of India and the American Indians in the south western part of the United States respectively, for contraceptive purposes. It has been reported that research into their action, laboratory tests and interpretation in terms of modern terminology proved that the effect was due to the presence of an active ingredient in the former which possesses the property of inactivating Progesterone and that the effect of the latter drug suppresses the secretions of gonadotropins from the pituitary and thus prevent ovulation.

Studies in the matter of differential diagnosis and treatment of some diseases according to Āyurveda is another profitable line of research. The Āyurvedic system of medicine is based on what

is called the Tridosha theory, and that the maintenance of the equilibrium and balance of the three doshas accounts for health and disturbance in their equilibrium and balance causes illness. Most of the joint and painful affections like rheumatism, arthritis, spondylitis, sciatica, acuṭe synovitis etc., are produced mainly by the disturbance of 'Vāta'. Most of these cases are caused by what is known as āvaraṇa or obstruction to the free passage and movement of Vāta by one or the other of the other two doshas. When it is Pitha that causes the āvaraṇa or obstruction a set of symptoms simulating an acute inflammation of the joint with heat, hypereamia and burning sensation, and in the case of neuritis pain and burning sensation, are produced by virtue of the properties described of Pitha; and in this case, hot fomentations aggravate the pain. When the āvaraṇa or obstruction is due to kapha conditions simulating a sub-acute or chornic arthritis, and in the case of neuritis pain without burning sensation are produced and relief is obtained by the application of heat. The nature of treatment differs though aimed basically at the disturbed vātha in both cases.

It may not be possible to read all the diseases described in Āyurveda in terms of terminologies found in Modern medicine. But to make them more intelligible to the minds that can think only in the modern way an attempt may be made to interpret the functions and effects of the three doshas in terms of modern terminology and then see if in a given etiology the described symptoms fit in.

One may still find some diseases, say for instance 'Sikatha Varthma' where the symptoms described are identical with Trachoma. Medicaments, mostly of an abrasive nature are suggested, and in cases where there is no relief, the rough and sand-paper like surface of the calyx of the flower of Hibiscus Rosasinensis is used to scrape away the hypertrophied tissues. Unless one sees in person how very similar is this procedure with the application of Roller forceps applied according to modern ophthalmology one cannot appreciate that what is considered modern appears to have been known many years ago.

Now I shall say a few words about the preventive side of medicine. Here the approach is different in both systems of medicine. According to Āyurveda emphasis is laid on the 'soil' factor, and rules of daily and seasonal conduct of life described

aim at maintaining the resistance of the body at a very high level. In modern medicine more emphasis is laid on 'the seed'—the micro-organisms—and the main line of treatment aims at keeping it out of the soil, the human body. However, each eystem has not ignored the other aspect. Āyurveda also prescribed isolation and segregation in case of contagious diseases. Socio-religious customs, the vestige of which still remains in the suburban and rural areas even today, envisage a voluntary quarantine imposed by the inhabitants of a place where public festivals take place. Even today one could find in a house infected with small pox and the like an effective notification in the form of margosa leaves hanging in front of the house proscribing social contact for prescribed periods. It should be borne in mind that in those days communications were few and transmission by contact was very much less, and that personal hygiene and civic sense clothed under religion were very much better. Modern medicine also recognizes the importance of the 'soil'. In fact for an infection to take place it is not enough if the organism is virulent; the host must also be susceptible. In the busy modern world where men have to swallow food without even the time to bite, where barriers of distance have been conquered, where there is enormous increase in the population with its adverse effects on national economy all these have tended to bring the standard of health far below the optimum and it is not easy and possible to raise the standard of the 'soil' merely by mass inoculation which strives to create an active immunity in the host in the absence of conditions favourable for the host to develop natural resistance. I need hardly add that the raising of the economic standard, the bringing home to the members of the public the importance of keeping a healthy 'soil' by proper education and by shifting the emphasis from the curative aspect of medicine to personal hygiene and civic consciousness must also gradually take place. It may be hoped that there may perhaps come a time when, in the improved context of human life, the germs may become powerless to grow; otherwise the race between microbes and the drugs each attempting to outwit the other will be endless. Summing up, I feel the preventive side of Modern Medicine as practised today, should be followed and that the masses should be educated to follow the daily and seasonal conduct of life laid down in Hindu system.

I would make a few suggestions on the teaching of Indigenous Medicine.

The college of Integrated medicine in Madras apparently as its name connotes, attempted to take the best out of the two systems of Medicine and make a judicious synthesis, but, unfortunately there appeared to be a gradual but definite relegation of the teaching and study of indigenous medicine to the background. I suggest the following curricula of study for a real integration of Modern medicine and Āyurveda. A thorough and detailed study in Anatomy and Physiology according to the modern system of Medicine (students taking up Medicine should have a good working knowledge of Science subjects of at least the Intermediate standard) is necessary. Even here according to current modern thought the two subjects, Anatomy and Physiology should be taught side by side. This includes Dissection and Physiology practical.

Study of Modern Materia Medica and Modern Medicine should follow. Then comes the study of the Fundamental Principles of Indian Medicine, Ayurveda, Indian materia medica and identification of drugs. The study of the fundamental principles of Indian medicine must be critical and exhaustive. For this a knowledge of the Sanskrit language is highly helpful though not indispensable. This difficulty can be got over by publishing critical and exhaustive commentaries in English. I would prefer a deep and critical study of the Sutra Sthanam in Ashtānga Hridaya a treatise on Āyurveda to shallow and extensive studies of many text books on Āyurveda. In respect of action of drugs either alone or for their synergistic effect in prescriptions according to Āyurveda attempts must be made to translate their mode of action in modern terminologies as suggested by me supra. A sound knowledge of Organic and Biochemistry or the aid of one proficient in the subjects will be of considerable help for this purpose.

A detailed study of Ashtanga Hridayam alone or with reference in proper places to such text books as Charaka and Madhava Nidanam may be prescribed. Here again after a thorough grasp of the subject according to both systems of Medicine the student may be initiated to read and interpret, wherever possible, Āyurveda in terms of modern terminologies. Research in this direction may be reserved for post-graduate study. With the diverse fundamental principles of both systems of medicine and the mental inhibitions of votaries in each it may not be possible to translate everything good in the Hindu system of Medicine in terms of familiar terminologies of modern medicine.

Though it is said that Sir William Hunter himself has recorded that at the Medical University at Nalanda, Hindu surgeons performed operations of Rhinoplasty and other surgical feats similar to modern plastic surgery I feel the study of Indian Surgery and Indian Midwifery may be completely left out of the school curricula and such of the students who desire to make a study of the history of indigenous medicine purely with academic interest may take up the subject to find out if anything useful could be culled therefrom. The practice of Midwifery and Surgery according to Modern Medicine is so well advanced that, as it is, the indigenous system has little to contribute to it.

When I mention *Astāṇga Hridayam* as a text book for medicine it covers indigenous Gyneacology, Pediatrics, treatment of the eye, ear, nose and throat, psychotherapy, rejevenation etc.

Then comes the study of Surgery, and Midwifery and Gyneacology according to Modern medicine. In all functional ailments peculiar to women application of Āyurvedic system should also be made at the appropriate stage. Such other subjects as Medical Jurisprudence, post mortem examination etc., according to Modern system of medicine should find their places at the proper stages. In teaching Hygiene and preventive medicine the rules of daily and seasonal conduct of life laid down in the Hindu system including yogic and similar factors should form a complementary item of study to the modern system of Medicine.

RITES (SAMSKARAS) CONNECTED WITH DEATH (PRETA) AND AFTER (PITR)

By

K. V. SOUNDARA RAJAN, M.A.,

(*Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India, Madras*)

(The institution of death-rites is a unique part of the Indian religious heritage and directly stems from the belief in life after death closely relating the living and the dead in a clan structure. The austere majesty of death had caused ancestor-worship of diverse kinds from time immemorial, but it was only given to Hinduism to discern, almost from its Vedic moorings, the significance of ancestral debt that is to be paid by appropriate rituals almost from the hour of death, to the anniversary. Inheritance and legal usages were integral to this, and many ancient authorities have expounded this and laid the foundations of the Hindu social code. Tribal customs---burial oriented—about death have been reflected merely in the elaboration of the tomb and the offerings within them, signifying not a little affection and much affectation. But a conscious endearment and fusion of the scions with their manes, piously, sincerely, symbolically and unostentatiously has been the feature only of the cremation-oriented, Hindu funeral customs, and their role as a factor in social cohesion of communities has not yet been fully assessed.

The paper published below is an attempt to familiarise the reader with the extent, intent, and depth of the ritual minutiae attendant upon a Hindu funeral. It is by no means exhaustive of all the variant practices, but draws up the skeletal core of this unique traditional culture-complex.—*Ed.*).

Of the four caste divisions, the first three are going by the name *dwijas*. These three are expected to perform all *samskāras* or purifactory rituals, with the appropriate *mantras*, from Nisheka to Pretakarma. For the Śūdras, it is said these rites have to be done, *without* mantras.

In *Rg Veda* and *Shukla Yajurveda*, the funeral obsequies are detailed. On that occasion, three generations of manes (pitṛ) have to be invoked (Tripurusha). The Śrāddhas have also to be performed for three generations of manes by the descendants. Manu, Yāgñavalkya and others actually mention the names of these manes

as respectively the Pitṛ, Pitāmaha and Prapitāmaha. Yāgñavalkya further recommends that these should be equally applied on the paternal as well as maternal side.

When life departs from this physical body, it gets categorised as corpse (*Prēta*). The rites are performed in order to enable the dead to reach the land of the manes safely. The expiatory rites are also done. The mortal coil when burnt on the funeral pyre gets reduced to a residuary vital air (or *prāṇamaya kośa*) associated with that person. By appropriate *mantras* it gets transformed into a mere mental state, and after the funeral rites ending with *Sapindīkaraṇa*, the soul is ultimately able to leave the world of the dead and reach the world of the manes.

The rites attendant upon the last moments of one's life are collectively called *Antyeṣṭi*. The end of one's life span is heralded by many visible and invisible signs. This has been elaborately dealt with in *Mahābhārata Śāntiparva* (Chap. 318, 9-17vv) in the Mōkshakānda of Devāla's *Kalpataru*, *Vāyu Purāṇa* (Chap. 19), *Mārkandeya Purāṇa* (Chap. 40), *Linga Purāṇa*, pt. I (Chap. 9), etc.

The Mahābhārata explains that the imminent natural death of a person is well denoted when the sense of smell, even of fragrant objects, departs from the man; by the ears, nose etc., becoming saggy, the eyes, teeth etc., losing lustre; when consciousness snaps. His body temperature falls; from his head a smoky film emanates, and his left eye sheds tears. When this tenuous link between life and death is indicated, the dying man should be removed from his cot and bed, should be laid on the bare ground, cleaned by the smear of cowdung and spread with kuśa grass. His head should be towards the south. Then his son or the legitimate claimant (*Adhikāri*) to the performance of the last rites, whispers in his ears the *Karṇamantra* starting with 'Ayushah' (*Gobhila Śruti* III 22, *Pitṛ Dayitā*, p. 74, Kauśika sūtra 80-35; *Atharva* V. 18.2.19; *Vājasaneyi Sam* 36.13; *Nirukta* 9-32).

Works like *Śuddhi Prakāśa* (p. 152), *Garuda Pūrāṇa* (*Prēta Khaṇḍa* 4-4-6), *Jātūkarṇya* stipulate that on behalf of a man on his death bed, his son or *Adhikāri* should offer many *dānas* (gifts). *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. XIX, p. 230 referring to an inscription of Chālukya Vikramāditya also gives the details of the *dānas* called for on this occasion. *Antyeṣṭi Paddhati* and *Antyakarma Dīpika* state that by these *dānas, prāyaśchittas* etc., the dying man who

is unfit for any *vrata* or ritual performance, gets the good merit accruing from these *dānas*. Also see *Skanda* VI, 226, 32-44, 34; *Śrāddharatna* of Lakshmipati. The dying man should, for this purpose, be bathed by his son or *Adhikāri*, who after performing the *nityakarma*, should light a lamp, pray to Ganeśa or Viṣṇu and, keeping all the articles necessary for the occasion in front, should recite the *Sankalpa* after having taken *Panchagavya* for purification. *Sarvaprāyaschitta* is then done. After the gifts are over, *Kamastuti* from the respective *Vedas* should be cited — *Atharva* III 29-7. Tait. *Brāhmaṇa* II 2.5.9, *Tait. Āraṇyaka* III 10, *Āśvalāyana Srauta* V 13.15. *Dānas* (gifts) include *Daśa dāna*, *Gō dāna* with calf, *Vaitaraṇī Gō dāna* etc.

Garuda Purāṇa (II 4.37) mentions that if man on his death bed assumes the mantle of *Sanyāsa* (called *Ātura Sanyāsa*), there would be no rebirth for him. *Gautama Pitṛmedhasūtra* (1.1.8) enjoins that one should chant on the ears of his dying father, mother, brother, preceptor or friend, certain *Sāma hymns*. *Rg. Vidhāna* specifies that the *sūkta* beginning with "*Trātāram*' should be cited. If this is not possible, it suggests the names of *Viṣṇu* or *Śiva*. *Hiraṇyakeśīya Pitṛmedha Sūtra* Ī-1 mentions Taitiriya Upanishad II-1 & III-1 *anuvākas*, as worthy of being recited. *Mahābhārata* (*Anuśāsana Parva* 149-14-12 and 17-31 to 153) recommends *Visnu Sahasranāma*.

Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra (1-15-12, 1-16-6, 1–17–11) and *Manusmriti* (11-66) state that *Antyeṣṭi* rites apply to women as well, but should not be accompanied by *mantras*. *Bodhāyana* urges that there are two universally valid rites that should be treated like debts and should be discharged by the performance in all cases without exception. These are birth rites and death rites. The latter usually gets diversified in character, according to the nature of the Adhikāri or the performant, such as: he who maintains a ready made Agni (according to Srauta practice), he who has a *smārta agni*, he who has neither, a lady, *sanyāsi*, he who dies in a foreign or distant country, he who commits suicide or is killed in an accident or otherwise. Even in the same context the *Srauta* and *Gṛhya sūtras* differ in the procedural practices. Before any final rites are performed, *Srauta* and *Gṛhya sūtras* prescribe that Ṛk Sūktas (X. 14. 18) starting with '*Pareyivāmsam*' should be chanted. *Āśvalāyana Srauta sūtra*, *Sānkyāyana Srauta sūtra*, *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra*, *Satapatabrāhmaṇa* (XII. 5.2.14), *Varā-*

hapurāṇa etc., give full details of the funeral schedule. At present, the procedure followed is that prescribed in *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra* as enlarged in *Garuda Purāṇa* (11.4.41).

The dead body should be washed with good water and the caste marks should be applied and the body dressed. Then the *kartā* washes his own feet, performs '*āchamana*' and *prāṇāyāma* without *Vaidika mantra*, and with the sacred thread carried over across from right to left (prāchīnaviti) should do the *sankalpa* or declaration. While generally cremation is the rule, very young children, *sanyāsi* etc., are buried. After cremation, bath is prescribed, and the *kartā* should be seated under the shade of a tree and hear the words of consolation from relatives and elders. Before entering the house again *Piṇḍa* should be given for the *Preta*, and the *agni* fed with *dūrva* grass shoots, and a bull should be grasped or touched.

Some works like *Mārkandeya Puraṇa* (3.45). permit the final rites to be performed, by onself, for self, while still alive, but *Gautama Dharma Sūtra* states, in the case of a person who has become a sinner and has been ex-communicated, his relatives should perform funeral rites for him, accompanied by *jaladāna*, *śrāddha* etc., as if he is dead.

In *Visṇu Purāṇa*, *Pretakriyā* is divided into 3 categories; *Pūrva kriyās*, *Madhyama Kriyās* and *uttarakriyas*. From the cremation day up to the 12th day after death, the rites performed are of the first kind, the *māsikāsraddhā*, *Ekoddhiṣta sapiṇḍīkaraṇa*, etc., are of the second category, and that which is performed immediately after *Sapiṇḍīkaraṇa* when the dead are united with the manes is of the third kind. The first two again can be performed for the dead by his or her parents, *Sapiṇḍas*, *Samānodaka*, *Sajāti*, *Sagotra* and the king. But *uttarakriyas* could be done only by son, grandson or great grandson, grandson by daughter, or the son of the last mentioned alone. If *Piṇḍadāna* is not given to the dead, it is said that the dead turn into ghouls, according to *Yama* in *Srāddhakrīya Kaumudi*, (p. 362).

For the funeral rites, when none is available, an agent through charity, can be employed. Sons and other *kartās*, for getting qualified for funeral rites, should first perform the three *kṛcchras* and should shave their hair. Shaving is essential if the dead is the parent or stepmother, or uncle, (paternal or maternal), elder

brother, etc. If the rites are for one's wife, there is shaving prescribed on the first and the tenth days. An adopted son should shave while performing the rites for the *Svīkāra pitā* as well as *Janaka pitā.* There is no shaving obligatory for cremation at night, and the rites upto *Piṇḍa dāna* could be done.

From the start of the rites after cremation on the first day up to the tenth day *Homa,* the *kartā* should always wear the sacred thread across the right shoulder (Prāchīnāvītī), and should face south. Only for the very learned and those pining for liberation should *Brahma-medha Samskaraṇa* be performed, according to Pitṛ medha Sāra. *Gautama, Apasthambha* and Bōdhāyana have mentioned about shaving for the dead as well, but it is not in vogue. The dead person's face should be covered by a new cloth. The body should be laid on a frame of *Udumbara* (Ficus Glamorata) wood, or in a cot or carriage, or carried on the shoulders. Elders should go first and ladies and children behind, with the upper body bare with hair untied, with relatives behind them. None should be between the dead body and the *agni.* None should ever go alongside the corpse or in front. Doing so would reduce the life span of the person. On the way to the cremation ground, *bhūta bali* should be given. The dead body and the fire (taken for burning it) should not be dropped on the ground. Doing so would entail *prāyaśchitta* or expiatory rites. On the funeral pyre, the body should be laid with head to the south and in a reclining position, and on the eyes, ears, nostrils, and mouth should be laid small bits of gold, as also ghee. Then the fire is placed on the chest, facing the direction of the sun. Then without looking back, the *kartā* should proceed to the bathing place.

The act of shaving is on two counts, firstly as an *anga* or procedural requirement of cremation, and again for purification. The first mentioned is particularly for the *kartā* only, on the first day; the second should be of general interest and done by others on the tenth day. He who does not shave before starting the *Pretakarma* loses all the good merits of the *udakapiṇḍa-dānas* and the *śrāddhas* as well. He who shaves *before* cremation itself is equivalent to a parricide. Thus, all shaving is only after cremation.

After the cremation, the *Kartā* shaves, bathes, returns to the house, performs a sankalpa and starts the *Nagnapracchādana Śrāddha.* This consists of the gift of cloth, rice, water vessel of

copper, lamp and ghee. *Smṛti* tradition says this should be done in front of the relatives, in wet clothes after bath and before entering the house with lamp; while *Smrityartaśāra* states that the above-mentioned articles should be gifted after cremation.

Then repairing to the tank or river and after invoking and seating the *Preta* or dead in a *kuṇḍa, pāṣāṇa sthāpana* should be done. Then is *udakadāna*. For this, new cloth, *seasamum, kuśa grass* and water vessel should be taken, and after the establishment of the dead in the *kuṇḍa* and placing the *pāsāṇa* (stone), the relatives should be bathed and seated, facing south and offer *Vāsodaka* with the new cloth and *Tilōdaka* with seasamum. The stone for the *pāṣāṇasthāpana* should be clean, bright, unburnt, black or red. At home also, on the left or the right side of the door of the house, stones should be laid and cloth should be placed on them, and morning and evening *bali* should be offered. The *Vāsodaka* and *Tilodaka* in the *Griha Kuṇḍa* and local *kuṇḍa* should be offered to the dead for the entire period of pollution, namely ten days. *Piṇḍa-bali-dana* should also be given. Before collection of the bones, the *Kartā* should be bathed, and have *Sankalpa,* and with relatives, sprinkle milk on the burnt body, and then collect the bones in a specified order. The semi-divine beings which reside in the cremation ground should be propitiated on the *sanchayana* days, by pūjas and *bali* offerings. On the tenth day, there should be a *prabhūta bali.* On that day, the *preta* gets very hungry, notwithstanding the *Vāsodaka, tilōdaka* and *pinda dāna* done on each day for 10 days. Only by *prabhūta bali,* its hunger is satisfied. The *pāṣāṇa utthāpana* should be done only on the tenth day.

Asthi Sanchayana: In modern times, the *asthi sanchayana* is done on the next day after cremation. Then, after a lapse of nine days, all the remaining rites are performed, on the tenth day. The *Kartā* goes to the cremation ground and has *sankalpa* and *piṇḍa dāna* on the first day and the *tilōdaka dāna.* But almost all the ancient authorities are agreed that the *asthi sanchayana* (or collection of the bone remains) for a brahmin should be performed on the fourth day of death, notwithstanding the present day practice of performing it on the very next day after cremation. For kings, it should be fifth or sixth, Vaiśya seventh or eighth and Śūdra ninth or tenth. The bones should be dropped in sacred rivers after collecting these bones in a pot and after tying it with

dear skin, silk cloth and *kuśā* cord. The *Aghamarshaṇa sūkta* should be chanted until the pot and the contents are well submerged.

Satyāshāda srauta sūtra (28.3.1), says that the second day, third, fifth and seventh day, for *sanchayana* will be proper. *Samvartha smriti, Garuḍa purāṇa,* etc., follow this. But *Āśvalāyana Grahyasūtra* (IV.5.1) stipulates that from the day of cremation after the tenth day on the dark fortnight, on odd days (first, third, fifth, etc.) under specific stars, *sanchayana* should be done. *Vishṇudharmasūtra, Viṣṇupurāṇa, Kūrma* (*uttara*) etc., state that it should be done on the fifth day. In *Satyāṣāda sūtra,* it is further stated that the dead man's wife or other ladies should tie *udumbara* twig in their hands and collect the bones. A childless lady should tie on her left-hand big-finger *Bṛhatī* fruit with black or red thread, and collect the bones, and the order of collection should be teeth first, cranium next, right and left side, chest, legs, etc., by the different ladies simultaneously. Then the pot in which the bones are collected should be placed under a *Śamī* or *Palāśa* tree. There is no *asthi-sanchayana* for a person not initiated with sacred thread (*anupanīta*). Some works have also suggested that on the place where the bone pot was kept, a tree could be grown or a platform built.

Ēkōddiṣṭam: For a Brahmin, *Ēkōddiṣṭam* is to be performed on the eleventh day after cremation. The *svarūpa* of *Ēkōddiṣṭa* is described by *Yāgñavalkya Smriti,* and signifies non-religious import, with single *arghya,* single *pavitra,* single *piṇḍa,* and the Brahmin doing this should eat first and then bathe, unseen, with oil. Incense or lamp or *agni* or any divine *āvāhana* or *mantra* should be avoided. The brahmin should be selected and entertained on the same day. *Dānas* should be made to him. Thus, from the eleventh day, whoever gives a water pot and food for one year each day, gains the merit equal to *Aśvamedha yagña;* and this is done in brief and is called the *Sodakumba śrāddha.* This is followed by the *Ṣōḍaśa māsika srāddhas* and the *Sapiṇḍīkaraṇa śrāddhas.* By this, the *preta* gets a new body. *Ṛshyaśṛṅga* details the actual growth of the new limbs, day by day, for the dead up to the eleventh day. *Sapiṇḍīkaraṇa* is to be performed on the twelfth day after cremation, in the case of the person with *āhitāgni* and then in *Darśa* period, *Piṇḍa pitṛyagña,* etc., should be done. In other cases, there is a difference in usage extending up to the year-end, as part of the first annual ceremonies. *Sapiṇḍana* is the

emancipation of the *prēta* and its transforming into *Pitṛ* and joining the *Pitṛs* of the *kartā*. Thus, *Sapiṇḍīkaraṇa* is the stage from which the dead person really gets released, and on that day *Gōdāna* is recommended. The *Sapiṇḍīkaraṇa Śrāddha* procedure varies with the person.

The right claimant for funeral rites: Generally, those eligible for performing *Śrāddhas* are *ipso facto* eligible for this also. There is, however, some significance in their order of precedence. When no son is available, a *sapiṇḍa* (i.e., brother, brother's son) *mātṛ sapiṇḍa* (*mātāmaha* or *mātāmaha's* son) disciple, etc., can perform *śrāddha* for the dead. If none of these is available, the *āchārya* can do it: [authority: *Gautam, Dhar, Sūtra* (15.13.14)] *Nirṇaya Sindhu* III, p. 380, *Vishṇu Purāṇa* III, 13. 31-13; *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa,* 30-19-21 Ch. 27, 19–23.

Thus *Sapiṇḍa, samānōdaka, mātṛ sapiṇḍa* and *mātṛsamānōdaka* is the order; or great-grandson through daughter. The daughter's son is entitled for the rites of his mother's father. A wife can perform her husband's rites, but without *mantras.* If the wife is also not there, the king can do this, through any scion of the dead person or of his caste group, since the king is held as the temporal relative of all his subjects. There is close link between the rightful heir to dead person's property, and the person who performs the rites, particularly in the funeral rites up to the tenth day. On the count of *Dāyabhāga,* the warrant of precedence of the *śrāddhādhikārīs* differs slightly. Excluding wife, the order could be: son (both own or adopted), grandson, great grandson, married daughter, unmarried daughter, daughter's son, brother, stepson, brother's son, step-grandson, father, mother, daughter-in-law, sister (uterine), sister (cousin), their sons, paternal uncle, uncle's son, *sapinda* (of another *gotra*) *sōdaka* (of another *gotra*), maternal uncle, disciple, son-in-law, father–in–law, friend, a brahmin who becomes the heir to the wealth, and finally, the king. *Nirṇaya Sindhu,* again, states that in *Kaliyuga,* since there is exception to other types of sons, only own and adopted sons should be construed as true sons, and not the other twelve mentioned on the authority of *Yāgñavalkya.* Thus, the order will be really speaking, reduced to own son, grandson, great grandson and adopted son, in that order. Authorities like *Bṛhaspati* and *Yāgñavalkya* also would rank grandson through daughter (*putrikāputra*) as equal in status to *pautra,* and thus placeable before *dattaka* or adopted son. Vopadeva, Rudradhara, on the other hand, hold the view that an adopted son is just equal to a true son and thus, only

in the absence of the adopted son, grandsons come into the picture. *Chandōga Pariśiṣṭha* also places grandsons after the twelve type of sons, and the adopted thus has precedence. But the term 'son' does not envisage sons other than *uterine*. This is reinforced by the precedence conceded to a son who has not been initiated into sacred thread ceremony (*anupanīta*) as against a grandson who has been, and that the former must perform the *karma* though uninitiated. Thus, only the *pūrva* and the *madhyama kriyas* could be performed by the agencies starting from *sapiṇḍa* and ending up with the king, as already mentioned. The *uttarakrīyās* could be performed only by sons or by the progeny on the collateral (uterine) side. When neither the great grandson nor the twelve types of sons are available, the wife can perform the obsequies of the husband, and *vice versa*. But when the stepson is available, the husband has no right. In an undivided family, when wife is not living, the brother becomes the agency for *karma*, while in a divided family the daughter gets this role. Authorities support this stand. The daughter is a legitimate *adhikāri* and particularly when there is a married and unmarried daughter, only the former gets prior claim, because she has undergone the *samskāras*. When the daughter is not alive, the grandson through daughter becomes the heir, and thus the proper agent for *karma*. When the wife as well as grandson through daughter are alive, only the former (by her being the heir to the property) becomes the fit agent for *karma*. When daughter's son and brother's are both available, in a divided family, the daughter's son, and in an undivided one, the brother's son respectively becomes entitled for *karma*. When brother as well as his son are available, and if the dead person is the elder, the brother's son should perform; and if the dead is the youngest, the brother himself should perform, according to southern (*Dākshinātya*) authorities. But *Hāralatā* and *Kūrma Purānam* state that elder brother should alone do and not his son. Other authorities further recommend that when the brother has no son, either the parents or daughter-in-law or mother-in-law or adopted son, being heir to property, become agents for *karma*. Even in the case of *samsṛṣta* (i.e., living together though divided) families they should follow only the above procedure. But the divided families have certain peculiarities of action mentioned by *Usanas*. *Navaśrāddha, Sapiṇḍana, Shoḍaśa Śrādha* should be performed by *one only*, in such cases, although the property has been divided. If the real son has no issue, only then the adopted son becomes the agent for *karma*. The adopted

son should perform *Sapiṇḍana* with the manes of the family of the adopted, as well as the true father. The children of the adopted should perform *Sapiṇḍīkaraṇa* with the manes of these two families and their own *Traipurushas.* The grandsons of the adopted should combine their father with the adopted grandfather and his (latter's) true father.

When more than one son is available, only the eldest is the *adhikārī.* When the eldest is not near at hand or condemned, the next elder is the agent. The youngest is *not.* If the brothers are divided, the ceremonies up to *Sapiṇḍīkaraṇa* should be performed by the eldest alone, with material help from his brothers. The annual *srāddha* will have to be performed by each separately. If undivided, all the ceremonies including the annual *srāddha* can be performed by the eldest. If the eldest is not readily available, the younger or the youngest brother can perform the funeral, up to the *Shōdaśa srāddha,* but not *Sapiṇḍīkaraṇa.* He will await for a year for his eldest brother's arrival. If the eldest is able to arrive within a year, he would perform the *Sapiṇḍīkaraṇa.* If not, the younger or youngest can perform the *Sapiṇḍīkaraṇa.* If during the year, when younger brothers have been performing the *māsika, anumāsika, Sapiṇḍīkaraṇa,* etc., the eldest reaches back, he should re-perform all these ceremonies. If there is the *upanīta,* (initiated with sacred thread) grandson who is available and an uninitiated son, the latter, if he is at least three years old or has been given the *Chūdākarma* (hair-shaving and tuft-rite), is the more eligible for the funerary rites. Authorities support this. According to Manu, if a boy is uninitiated (without sacred thread) he cannot recite *Veda mantras,* but, for his own parents' funeral, he can recite the requisite *Vedic* hymns. If he is physically unable to recite them, the funeral alone can be performed by him with *mantras,* and the rest by some one else, on his authority, duly delegated. In a similar way, for *Darśa Śrāddha, Mahālaya Śrāddha,* he can get this done by others, after doing the *sankalpa* (declaration) part himself. If the adopted son is already initiated, he becomes the agent for *Pretakritya.*

When there is no descendant of the true father to perform *śrāddha* for him, his son where already adopted by another should also perform these. If a person dies a *brahmachāri,* his parents should perform all *śrāddhas* like *māśikā* etc. A *brahmachāri* can carry the dead body of his parents, grand parents, *guru* etc. But where other agents are available, he *cannot* perform the funeral

rites of his parents even. Generally, a *brahmachāri* should *not* perform any rites for persons other than parents, grand-parents, and *guru*. If he is called upon to perform the ten day ceremonies for others, he would be pollute for ten days. If he has performed only the funeral, his pollution lasts for only a day.

Śrāddhas: On Marīchi's authority, we see that *śrāddha* is essentially the offering of specified ritual victuals and articles, made with earnestness and piety to the manes, in their sacred honour and memory, on specified days. It is based on the creed of rebirth (cf. *Brahad. Upan.*). Such a *śrāddha* is broadly of two kinds, *Pārvaṇa* and *Ēkōddhiṣṭa*. That which has for its objective the *tripurushas* (*piṭrs*) is the former. That which deals with a single soul is the latter.

Śrāddhas, again are said to get divided into three types, *Nitya, Naimittika* and *kāmya,* which in their turn get diversified into five forms, *Aharahaśśrāddha, Pārvaṇa, Vriddhī Śrāddha, Ēkoddhiṣṭa,* and *Sapiṇḍīkaraṇa.*

Ladies and the fourth class (*śūdras*) should perform *Śrāddha* without *mantras.* The latter are recommended only *Āma Śrāddhas.* They can adopt *Kāśyapa gōtra.* when not possessing any. When there are some unforeseen impediments the *śrāddha* could be in *Āmarūpa.* But *māśika* and *Ābdhika śrāddha* should not be *Āma Śrāddha.* They must be done with regular cooked offerings. When even *Āma* articles are not readily procurable, it could be *Hema* or *Hiraṇya Śrāddha.* When even *Hema* or *Hiraṇya* is not available, the simple act of giving grass to cows, or offering *piṇḍas* or *tilōdaka* for *Piṭrs* in a *tarpaṇa* after bath is enough. Or at the hour of the śrāddha one may feed *agni* with *kaksha* (dry wood or dry grass), and fast for the day, or chant the *śrāddha samhitā.*

Āma Śrāddha should be performed by (*dwijas*) brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas in the forenoon, and by *śūdras* in the afternoon. When many Brahmins are not available for performance, in a temple *Śālagrāma* can be established, and the *Tripurushas* of paternal and maternal line may be invoked on a brahmin, and śrāddha could be performed. So recommends *Dharma sindhu.* Since the date of death of the *Piṭrs* is mentioned while referring to the time of *śrāddha* in *sankalpa,* it is obvious that *śrāddha* is an annual feature.

A *Pārvaṇa śrāddha* is one which is performed with three *Pitṛs* and three *piṇḍas*. This is of three types *Ēka*, dvi and *tripārvaṇa*. The anniversary performance is of the first type; *Śrāddhas* performed on *Mahālaya Amāvāśya* and *Tīrthaśrāddhas* are of the *Ēkōddhiṣṭa* type.

When *Darśa, māśika*, or annual *śrāddha* falls on an eclipse day, the same day *śrāddha* should be performed with cooked fare or *Āma* type or *Hēma* type. It should not be put off to the next day.

The term *Pitṛ* generally signifies the parents; it specially cannotes the three generations of the departed in lineal order, as well as all the departed ancestors. The *Vedas* use the term mainly in the latter sense. In *Ṛg. Veda*, the *pitṛs* themselves are classified into *uttama, madhyama* and *Adhama* class. It further states that *Agni* would be able to recognise *Tripurushas*, while the descendents would themselves not be able to (X-15-1; X-15-13). Further, *Ṛg Veda* (X-14-5-6) divides the Pitṛ into other categories as well, such as *Angīrasa, Vairūpa, Atharvaṇa, Bhrigu, Navagva, Daśagva* etc. *Angīrasa* groups are held to have very close link with *Yama*, and the *Vedic sūktas* (X-14.3.5) request *Yama* to come with *Angīrasa Pitṛs* in *Agni kāryas*. They further (I.62.2) describe that the dead sould after funeral, is residing with *Yama* in another body. *Nirukta* (XI-18) stipulates that the land of *Yama* is the middle world. *Taitirīya Brāhmaṇa* divides the *Pitṛs* into *Deva* and *Manuṣya* types, while *Atharva* (18-3-14) refers to the progeny requesting boons from the *Pitṛs*.

After the cremation is over, during the ten days, daily *ekōttaravrittiśrāddha* should be performed, in proportion daily to the count of *udakānjali*. This should be in *āma rūpa*. In a similar way, with due *sankalpa*, a *navaśrāddha* should be done. Thus, within eleven days, the *Shaṇṇavati śrāddha* should also be completed. After the ten-day ceremonies, the *śuddhi-puṇyāhavāchana* for the house should be performed. This consists in releasing a bull of black, blue, or red colour, so that the dead do not go to *Naraka*, despite commission of any sin. When bull cannot be afforded, one may feed eleven *brahmans*. Then the *ēkōddhiṣṭa śrāddha* should be performed. This should be done by brahmins on the eleventh day. This is called *Mahā-ēkōddhiṣtha*. Then, after performing the *dānas* appropriate to the occasion, the *Sodakumbha śrāddha* should be done. This is by gifting daily a pot of water till

the anniversary. Then comes the *Ṣoḍaśamāsikā śrāddhas* consisting of the twelve *māśyas, ūnamāśyas, ūnashānmāśika* and *ūnābdika.* The *māśikas* are to be observed on the beginning of each month, the first being on the eleventh day.

The *Ābdika Śrāddha* should be done without fail, otherwise there would be evil consequences. In *Saura* month, if there are two *tithis*, the later *tithi* should be accepted.

Authorities included:
Āditya Purāṇa
Agastya
Angīraśa
Aparārka
Āpastamba
Antyakarmadīpa
Āśvalāyana
Atharva
Bhāradvāja
Bhārata
Bhāskara
Bhaviṣya Purāṇa
Bōdhāyana
Brahmam
Brahmavaivarta
Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa
Bṛhad Viṣṇu
Chandrikā
Chandogaparisiṣta
Chandrōdaya of Marīchi
Devāla
Dharmasindhu
Gālava
Garuda Purāṇa
Gautama
Gautama Pitṛmeda sūtra
Gītā
Gṛhyaparisiṣta
Gobila Gṛhya Sūtra
Hārita
Hemādri
Jamadagni
Jātukarṇya
Jīmūtavāhana
Kalādarśa
Kathōpanishad
Kāsyapa
Kātyayana
Kauśika
Khādira Gṛhya Sūtra
Kathōpanishad
Laghu Hārita
Linga Purāṇa
Mahābhārta Santi Parva
Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa
Madanaratna
Manu
Marīchi
Mātsya
Nirukta
Nirnayasindhu
Padma Purāṇa
Pāṇinī
Prāchetas
Prajāpati
Rāmāyaṇa
Ṛg. Veda
Ṛshyasringa
Sangraha
Śankara
Padma Purāṇa
Sātātapa
Satapatha Brahmaṇa
Skanda
Srāddha vivēka
Smrityarthaśāra
Smṛti Chandrikā
Smṛti Ratna
Srāddha Kalpa
Śrāddharatna of Lakshmīpati
Srīdharīya
Sudhānidhi
Śuddhi Prakāśa
Śuddhitatva
Śukla Yajurveda
Sumandu
Taittirīya Brahmaṇa

Trimśatślokī
Uśaṇas
Vājasanēya
Vāmana Purāṇa
Varāha Purāṇa
Vāsiṣta Sāra
Vigñānēśvara
Viṣṇu
Vāyupurāṇa
Vyāghra
Vriddhamanu
Vyāsa
Vyavahārāmnāya
Viṣṇu Dharma Sūtra
Yāgñavalkya
Yama
Yōgasūtra Bhāṣya
Yōgīśvara

APPENDIX

Opportunity is taken to make a convenient, if brief, compilation of the literary references in the epics and later works to the performance of funeral and other death rites. The primary merit of these data would be mainly to emphasise the consistent application of the sastraic rituals enjoined for such obsequies, right through the centuries.

Rāmāyaṇa has six instances of such, variously of dead Daśaratha, (Ayodhyākāṇḍa), Jaṭāyu (Āranyakāṇḍa), Kabandha (Āranyakānda), Vāli (Kishkindhākāṇḍa) and Rāvaṇa (Yuddha kāṇḍa). The first mentioned is described in some detail.

When Daśaratha passed away in the absence of all his four sons, his dead body had to be preserved in oil jars. The messengers who went to fetch Bharata apparently took only one day to reach him, but Bharata is said to have travelled for seven days from Kēkayadeśa to Ayodhyā. Almost immediately, he performs the *uttara kriyās* for his dead father. The emperor is found having worshipped and maintained the *Āhitāgni* in the *Agnigriha*, and these were kept away from pollution, and were used by the *Ritviks* and *Purohits* for the cremation. The dead body was carried in a palanquin, and gold and silver flowers were scattered in front of the bier along the route. The body was circumambulated by Bharata and relatives in the *apasavya* fashion, around the pyre and the *Ritviks* who conducted the funeral were of four types *Hotā, Udgātā, Adhvaryu* and *Brahmā.* The funeral rites were according to *Pitramedha vidhi,* with *Vedic mantras* and *Sāmagāna. Jalatarpana* was given on the Sarayū river. The relatives maintained pollution for ten days by lying on the ground, separated from each other, at night. On the thirteenth day after the death of the emperor, we learn from Vaśiṣṭha's words that Asthi *sañchayana* was performed. This would mean that *sancha-*

yana was performed on the 'fourth day' after the cremation. On the eleventh day thereafter, *Puṇyāhavācana, Navaśrāddha*, etc., were done and on the following (12th) day, *Ṣōdaśa śrāddha, māsika, Sapiṇḍīkaraṇa*, etc., were duly performed according to one text.

When Rāma performs *tarpaṇa* for dead Dasaratha, on hearing news from Bharata, we are informed that he followed it up by the *Sapiṇḍīkaraṇa śrāddha* and gave as *piṇḍa* offerings, *Iṅgudi* (*Inga dulces*) oil cakes, stating that the food that he, Lakshmaṇa and Sītā were taking should be acceptable to Daśaratha.

While performing the funeral ceremonies for Jaṭāyu (vulture), Rāma is referred to as desiring to produce fire by churning wood, for the cremation. Rāma addresses dead Jaṭāyu thus "May you go to the same *Pitṛ loka* to which go the *Grihasthas* (householders) performing *yagñas* and *yāga*, the *Vānaprasthins* and *Tapaśvins* who perform penance amidst the five *agnis*, the *Sanyāsis* who do not revert from the *Nivritti mārga* and the *Naiṣṭhika Brahmachāris* (celebates) who have sacrificed all the pleasures of *samsāra*". He is said to have chanted the *mantras* of the Pitṛ *devatas*, such as *yamyaka sūkta*, etc., during cremation, performed *jala tarpaṇa*, offered as *piṇḍa* dead venison brought for the purpose. Rāma performs a simple funeral, in a pit dug specially for this, to Kabandha, and the cremation was done before sunset on the day of his killing.

Vāli's *preta-kriyā* was performed by Aṅgada, on the sandy banks of a wild stream. Aṅgada performed the *apasavya pradakshiṇa* around the pyre, and Rāma saw to it that all obsequies were carried through without fail. Sampāti desires to perform *jala tarpaṇa* for his dead brother Jaṭāyu when he learns of his death from the monkeys led by Aṅgada and Hanumān. He asks them to take him to the sea shore, as he has no wings to fly.

Rāvaṇa's funeral is performed only at the instance of Rāma, since Vibhīṣaṇa, at first, rejects any claim of dead Rāvaṇa to expect a *preta-kriyā* at his hands, by his heinous deeds. The funeral pyre was spread with Rangu deer skins. *Pitṛ medha samskāra* was performed. *Agni kuṇḍa*, and the three fires were prepared. Curd and ghee were sprinkled on the pyre and on the dead body. Near the dead Rāvaṇa's feet was the wagon to bring *Soma* plant, and mortar was placed between his thighs for dehusking the grains for *yagña*. Wooden vessels like *sthāli*, etc.,

upper *Araṇi* block, lower *araṇi* block and pestle were all placed in the appropriate places, as enjoined by the Rishis. A clean goat was sacrificed near the pyre, and *Homa* was performed. Vibhīṣaṇa lit the pyre, with wet clothes. *Tilōdaka* was offered for the *āvāhana* of the *preta.* Since Rāvaṇa was killed in battle, there was presumably no *aśaucha* for Vibhīṣaṇa, since we find him going to Rāma immediately after cremation.

Mahābhārata provides, again, six occasions of the crematory rites, variously on the death of Pāṇḍu, Bhīṣma, Vidhura, the countless warriors dead in the *Bhārata* battle, Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Gāndhāri and Kuntī (killed in forest fire), and finally of Vasudeva, Krishṇa and Balarāma. Of these, again, Pāṇḍu's funeral is the most adequately documented.

Pāṇḍu's funeral was appreciated by Kaśyapa well versed in *Pretakārya.* Gold bits, ghee, til (*sesamum*), curd, rice, water pots, axe, etc., were brought by him, and with *Aśvamēdha Agni* the rites were performed. *Jala tarpaṇa* was performed by Yudhishṭhira and the other Pāṇḍavas, Bhīṣma, Vidhura and the gñātis. For 12 nights they all slept on the ground. The *śrāddha* for Pāṇḍu was *Pitṛmedha* type, as prescribed by Indra himself.

When Bhīṣma died, again, *Pitṛmedha samskāra* was performed with *homa, sāma gāna,* etc. The *apasavya pradakshiṇa* around the pyre is mentioned. *Jala tarpaṇa* by all relatives is also recorded.

For the warriors dead in the Great battle, Yudhiṣṭhira arranged through the offices of Sudharmā, Sanjaya, Vidhura, etc., proper cremation, as they had died without any relatives alive to perform rites for them. Some of the elders and holy men dead in battle were given *Pitṛ medha samskāra.* It was revealed then by Kuntī that Karṇa was her own son and on learning this Yudhiṣṭhira performed *jala tarpaṇa* and *udaka dāna.* When Vidhura cast off his mortal coil, Yudhiṣṭhira wanted to perform crematory *samskāras* for him. But a celestial voice announced that since Vidhura followed *yati dharma,* he is not in need of cremation.

When Dhritarāṣṭra, Gāndhāri and Kuntī died in the forest fire, it is recorded that *udaka kriyas* and *dānas* were performed, in the name and *gotra* of each of the dead. Yudhiṣṭhira also performed the *śrāddhas* on the 12th day after purifying himself. Arjuna is said to have performed the *preta-kriyā* for Vasudeva,

Krishṇa and Balarāma, and all Vrishṇi scions performed *udaka tarpaṇa.*

Mediaeval usage — 11*th*-12*th centuries A.D.*

We have recorded references to the performance of *Brahmamedha samskāras* followed by other typical *Śrī Vaiṣṇava* rituals like *Śrīchūrṇa-paripālana* and *Tiru-adhyayana* (*śrāddha*) for Āḷavandar, Maranēri Nambi, Periya Nambi and Kūrattāḻvār—stalwarts all, of the pre-to post-Rāmānuja period in Tamilnad, in Vaiṣṇavite hagiology. It is mentioned, in the case of the last, that the authority followed for the rituals was *Hārita smṛti,* and that the *kriyā* lasted 12 days, followed by the *śrāddha.*

SECTION II: REPORTS OF SEMINARS

The Institute of Traditional Cultures held a Seminar on Modernism and Traditional Values of the Hindus on 1st November 1965 in the University Buildings. The following is a report of the proceedings of the Seminar.

PRESENT

Director:

Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, M.A.

Leader:

Dr. S. Gopalan, M.A., M.Litt., Ph.D.

Participants:

Agnihotram Ramanuja Tatachari, No. 3, Arisikar Street, Mylapore, Madras-4.

G. A. Balachandran, M.A., Lecturer in Politics and Public Administration, University of Madras, Madras-5.

Prof. M. M. Bhat, Professor of Kannada, University of Madras. Madras-5.

Dr. Chedomil Veljacic, Professor of Philosophy, Zagreb University, Yugoslavia.

Dr. V. A. Devasenapati, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Philosophy, University of Madras, Madras-5.

K. N. Ezuthachan, Lecturer in Malayalam, University of Madras, Madras-5.

M. S. Gopalakrishnan, M.A., M.Litt., Head of the Department of Anthropology, University of Madras, Madras-5.

S. Govindaswami, B.A., B.L., J. P. 13, Beasant Road Madras-14.

Mr. Jameel Ahmed, M.A., Lecturer in Politics and Public Administration, University of Madras, Madras-5.

A. N. Krishna Iyengar, M.A., L.T., Research Fellow, Tamil Development Department, Ministry of Education, Govt. of Madras, Madras.

Dr. C. T. Krishnamachari, M.A., Ph.D., Head of the Department of Philosophy, Madras Christian College, Tambaram.

Dr. K. Kunjunni Rajah, M.A., Ph.D., Reader in Sanskrit, University of Madras, Madras-5.

Mrs. Lalitha Ramamurthy, M.A., Research Scholar, Department of Philosophy, University of Madras, Madras-5

Dr. T. M. P. Mahadevan, Professor of Philosophy, University of Madras, Madras-5.

Dr. C. A. Perumal, Reader in Politics, & Pub. Admn. University of Madras, Madras-5.

Mr. Perumal Mudaliar, Principal, Teacher's College, Saidapet, Madras.

Dr. K. K. Pillay, M.A., D.Litt., (Oxon.) Professor of Indian History, University of Madras, Madras-5.

S. Rajam, BA., 30, Chamiers Road, Madras-29.

Dr. S. O. Ramakrishnan, M.A., Ph.D., Senior Research Fellow Dept. of Philosophy, University of Madras, Madras-5.

S. Ramanathan, M.A., Lecturer in Politics and Public Administration, University of Madras, Madras-5.

Dewan Bahadur K. S. Ramaswamy Sastri, B.A., B.L., District Judge, (Retd.) 46, Lloyds Road, Madras-14.

Mrs. Ratna Shivaraman, M.A., M.Litt., Research Scholar in Philosophy, Dept. of Philosophy, University of Madras, Madras-5.

N. Sanjivi, M.A., M.Litt., Reader in Tamil, University of Madras, Madras-5.

K. Santanam, 'Sabaree', 58, East Abhiramapuram St., Mylapore, Madras-4.

Dr. A. Shankar Kadileye, M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer in Kannada, University of Madras, Madras-5.

Mrs. R. Sivakumar, B.A., M.Litt., Plot No. 2, Srinivasa Avenue, Madras-28.

Rao Bahadur Srinivasagopalachari, B.A., M.L., Sambanda Vilas, Annamalaichetty Road, Vepery, Madras-7.

Dr. N. Subramanyan, M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer in History, University of Madras, Madras-5.

S. Subramanya Sastri, M.A., Reader in Sanskrit, University of Madras, Madras-5.

Dr. P. K. Sundaram, M.A., Ph.D., Reader in Philosophy, University of Madras, Madras-5.

K. V. Soundararajan, M.A., Superintendent, Temple Survey, Archaeological Survey of India, Fort St. George, Madras-9.

K. R. Sundararajan, M.A., Research Fellow, Philosophy Dept., University of Madras, Madras-5.

R. Sundararajan, M.A., M.Litt., Senior Research Fellow, Philosophy Dept. University of Madras, Madras-5.

Dr. K. C. Varadachari, Vivekananda Professor for Philosophy, University of Madras, Madras-5.

K. Vasudevan, M.A., Research Scholar, 116, Varada Muthiappan St., Madras-1.

Director: I am thankful to Dr. S. Gopalan for having kindly agreed to lead a seminar on this interesting though extensive subject of Modernism and Traditional values of Hinduism. In accepting the invitation to the Seminar, one of the invitees wrote to

me that he was rather a disillusioned man as in a seminar on Karma and another with a similar title to ours today, he found that the general tendency was to hug traditional values, find all virtues in them and deprecate all attempts at accepting modern values; he said that in these cases Tradition dictated to Modernism and hoped that our seminar would not follow the same pattern. This only shows the hold of traditional values on our minds and the great difficulty of adopting new ways of thought. In any case seminars like this are meant for the free ventilation and discussion of all points of view and I hope the participants today will speak freely and without feeling any inhibition. I now request Dr. Gopalan to open the seminar. The gist of his argument has been already circulated to you in a summary form.

Dr. S. Gopalan: I am grateful to Prof. Nilakanta Sastri for having given me an opportunity to lead this seminar.

MODERNISM AND THE TRADITIONAL VALUES OF THE HINDUS

The very title of the paper might, in a way, indicate that there is a gulf dividing the contemporary trends in regard to the practical application of certain traditional concepts and the ideals enunciated by the ancients as can be gathered from the concepts propounded long ago. At the same time, it might point to the implied recognition that, even in the midst of confusion of issues and crises of values in the modern times, there is discernible the fact that the modern views are not discontinuous with the ancient. But for the fact that in some sense or other, in one way or another, the 'modern age' is a product of the ancient traditions, the whole discussion would be irrelevant and futile.

In approaching the problem of correlating the ancient and the modern concepts, it is necessary to be cautious about two extreme attitudes that are likely to be taken. The first is a dogmatic belief that whatever is ancient is invaluable and the consequent unrealistic approach to the problems of the contemporary society. The second is an over enthusiastic appeal to break away completely with the past dictated by the mistaken notion that the ideas which are nearer to us are to be accepted, rejecting, in the process, the "more distant" ones. The main defect with the first extreme view is that it does not take note of the changing circumstances which do influence the method of approach to certain per-

petual problems and which, giving rise to new problems necessarily deserve consideration. The second extreme view suffers from the flaw that it overlooks the fact of continuity of institutions down the ages. Since the various social institutions are embodiments of ideas that arise in the individuals through the differing conditions and stage of development of society, the fact of continuity of ideas and the institutions embodying them cannot be easily overlooked.

Correlation of concepts itself is inevitable since the development of human thought is due to an analysis of the earlier concepts and to an attempt at formulating new ones out of the old. The growth of human knowledge is made possible by the mind analysing the knowledge already acquired, comparing new ideas with the old and accepting those new ideas which can be absorbed into the already existing ones to form an integrated and meaningful whole called a system of knowledge. Ideas in regard to institutions are no exception; in the course of the evolution of the social institutions we see the same tendency of patternizing the various ideas and ideals.

The term modernism may be defined as the general tendency of the individuals' and societies' thinking during the recent past and in the present. Modernism is the nomenclature we give to comprehensively cover the outlook of the modern man on life, shaped as it has been by the enormous changes in the fields of science and technology. Man being the product of the conditions and circumstances under which he is born and bred it is not surprising that the attitude of the modern man to life and the problems it offers is not the same as that of the ancient man. It must be said at the outset that there have been advantages and disadvantages due to the changes that have come about as a result of man's probe into the secrets of nature. With but a passing reference to the advantages that man has derived due to this knowledge of the various sciences, it is proposed in this paper to dwell upon, reflect about and comment on the crisis of values that has come about in the world today.

The world today is worried as to where it is going to be led to if the present crisis were to be left unchecked. The instinct for life which man has is probably responsible for the gloom that has set in the minds of people everywhere regarding the possibility of the survival of mankind itself. The concern of the common

man as of the world's statesmen and leaders today is for the security of mankind against the hazards of the scientific and technological inventions.

It has now become the characteristic of every great world-leader to think aloud about the ways and means of averting another world-war, to bring to an end the cold-war atmosphere and to make better constructive use of the fruits of science and technology. Especially after the experience of the second world war, it has been the serious concern of the various nations to see that there is no clash between the various nations, throwing up potentialities for precipitating yet another world-war with its deadly consequences.

With all this, it seems as if the leaders of nations and their spokesmen have not been completely objective in their approach to and appreciation of world-problems. The various nations pay lip-service to grand ideals. For example, every nation has been stressing the importance of world-peace, but unfortunately for the peoples all over the world, the nations have been applying double-standards. When there is a breach of peace between two nations, the other nations give out statements emphasizing the necessity of resolving the conflicts in a peaceful way, but when it comes to their own case, the nations forget the very same ideals they preach to the other nations. What is even worse, even when particular nations are not directly involved in certain conflicts, they fail to observe the objective approach. Problems are not considered in their own light. Problems are approached having special interests in view.

Of these, the first one at least is, to some extent, understandable, since, by the very nature of the case it requires a good deal of moralizing. Impartially considering one's case is not as easily achieved as imagined. But, the second one is ununderstandable since it involves not so much of self-sacrifice as the first. The difficulty here is due to the fact that the world is now divided into power-blocks. The nations belonging to a particular power-block always have a tendency to close their eyes to all the mistakes committed by their allies with the result that when it comes to judging issues that have arisen between two nations belonging to different power-blocks, nations have a tendency to give a strong support to their allies with the sole object of throwing reproof on the nation in

the opposite block, simply because 'it is on the opposite side'. The tension that is created by this unhealthy attitude of the nations has made the man-in-the-street reflect about the motivating factors behind the leaders' precepts and practice.

The vested interests which nations have seem to be directly responsible for the clouding of their visions. The narrow interests of these nations—viz., promoting their progress and expansion—prevent them from criticising their allies even when certain grand principles are at stake. For instance, committing aggression on a neighbouring nation is now considered undesirable, wherever it might happen. There is complete agreement on the necessity of preventing nations from committing aggression. The different power-blocks too are agreed on this; but events in the recent past have proved that this agreement has again been due to the anxiety of the power blocks to prevent the opposite side from gaining 'more strength'. The result of this is that aggression as an undesirable political practice of nations is not condemned but aggression committed by a nation belonging to the opposite side only is condemned violently and seriously.

Any reflective thinker is bound to be struck by the principle of expediency followed by the modern nations to gain their own interests in the world. The ineffectiveness of the biased-approach to problems facing world-peace in the matter of allaying the fears of the peoples everywhere, the constant tension in the minds of leaders and nations of the world in regard to their prospects in a world-war should it break out, and the frustrating experience of millions of people who have all pinned their faith in their leaders point out clearly that, however attractive the path of expediency might be even for nations, it is not to be pursued in the lasting interests of humanity as a whole.

The modern tendency of expediency followed by the various nations is accountable by the corruption that has set in the morals of the common man. As it is said, in the last analysis people get only the government they deserve. Due to the low standard of integrity and honesty, the common man thinks and acts always in terms of promoting his own interests. He is intensely selfish and ego-centric; this shortsightedness no less than his haste in overtaking the others in the race of aggrandisement has been responsible for his miserable plight. This basic corruption of man

is traceable to the materialist trends, inaugurated by the development of science and technology.

Science has no doubt filled the world with all comforts and luxuries. The successful manipulation of nature, by man, has filled the human mind with high hopes that he can carve out a grand future for himself. The application of science to technology has given man the potentiality to transform the earth into a paradise.

The enormous strides that science has made in the fields of medicine, engineering and technology have had immediate, perceptible and substantial effect in changing the outlook of man. Impressed by the utility value of science and technology, man's thinking, since the advent of science and technology has been drifting towards materialism. This has led to a superficial analysis of man and his wants. Happiness for humanity, man seems to believe consists in remedying man's difficulties with the help of science. In the name of rational analysis, human happiness has been examined in purely material terms. Man is described as a bundle of desires and happiness is equated with finding fulfilment of these desires; man is reduced to a few instincts and the instinctive cravings are given all the importance, reducing him, in the process, to a determined mechanism. The determinist view of man overlooks the uniqueness of the human species.

The philosophers, no doubt accept that there is some truth in the materialist view. But, they do not accept the thesis that human misery, suffering or unhappiness can be got over by merely improving the material well-being of man. What is even more horrifying to the philosopher is the materialist's attack of the spiritual and eternal elements in man. Due to persistent attacks on religion and spiritual values on the one hand and due to phenomenal effects of pursuing science, the man of the scientific era believes firmly that a new social order will usher in automatically when there is material abundance and improved social conditions in the form of better housing, better luxuries and better forms of government.

The tense atmosphere of the contemporary world (described above) disproves the materialist theory. For, in spite of scientific and technological revolutions of the contemporary world, in spite of the contemporary world possessing all the material require-

ments of a "happy life", we find something wanting. That is peace. We are reminded of Plato's immortal words, insisting on the necessity of having a philosophy of life to guide us: "....the life according to knowledge is not that which makes men act rightly and be happy, not even if knowledge includes all the sciences, but one science only, that of good and evil. For, ...if you take away this, medicine will not equally give health, and shoemaking equally produce shoes and the art of the weaver clothes, ...the art of the pilot will not equally save our lives at sea, and the art of the general in war......Yet, ...none of these things will be well or beneficially done, if the science of the good be wanting".[1] It is obvious, only the absence of the discriminating knowledge of the good and evil is responsible for all the evils of the modern age.

To say all this is not to discredit the scientist or the technologist for the predicament of man. Science as such is amoral. Science only gives us an insight into the technique of producing the various things including the socially harmful materials. The production of the atom bomb is the business of the atomic scientist; the constructive or destructive use to which the energy released from the atom is not within his sphere of activity. The sphere of values, in short, is outside the scope of the scientists. Preservation of values is as necessary as the production of the various scientific goods; spiritual orientation of man is basically necessary for enjoying the fruits of science itself. So, the view that science has created the fourth value (Louis Mumford)—"the Useful"—in addition to the traditional triad, the True, the Good and the Beautiful is acceptable only because the "fourth" is added on to the already existing three. The unfortunate thing today is that the fourth seems to be assuming undue prominence and is trying to replace the other three. Hence it seems essential to go back to the traditional values, for they give us the fundamentals of a good life.

The idea of considering certain traditional values may be criticised even at the outset, as the attitude of going back to the bullock-cart age to find solutions for the problems of the atomic age. Here it should be remembered that however bad the present society might be, a better future for it cannot be attained by

1. Charmides, 174.

doing away with the past. In the history of human society and more specifically in the history of human thought which makes it what it is and determines what it will be, nothing is accomplished overnight. This is responsible for the relevance of the consideration of the past to even analyse the maladies of the present age.

A second reason for considering the traditional values is that in them we have the fundamentals of a good life. If the contention that due to the tremendous changes in the fields of science and technology, corruption of morals has resulted, it follows that it is necessary to go back to the past to get at the basic requirements of a good life. It is not meant here that certain concepts and values the ancients believed in could be followed completely to solve the present-day problems. It is realized that with certain changes that have come about, modifications and sometimes re-interpretation of certain old concepts become necessary.

The approach to the past must be one of humble submission of the mind's receptivity to all worthwhile ideas,—worthwhile not in the sense of a total acceptance of them all but in the sense of picking up suggestions that they might offer for tackling the present-day problems. The advantage of this approach is that the ideas of the past, with certain modifications can be applied to the present. This enables an useful and fruitful continuity of ideas and the traditions in human society.

The third and perhaps the most significant reason for suggesting an analysis of some of the traditional concepts is that they seem to be possessed of a lot of psychological insight. The reason for this might be that due to 'natural' conditions, the thinkers of the past could think more deeply of certain problems of the individual and society.

Going back to the fundamentals by way of considering certain traditional beliefs necessarily takes us into the deep psychological insight that the ancient thinkers had into human nature. Turning our attention to the basic human psychology has become imperative especially because the superficial analysis of man has proved to be worthless.[2] Analysis of the individual to account for the

2. See *infra.*

social incohesion, instability and disharmony characterizing the contemporary world is also logical since, ultimately, it is the sum-total of human reactions and susceptibilities that gives us a proper diagnosis of the malady affecting mankind today. Since it is an undeniable fact that society is the individual writ large, an analysis of the individual as against society in the abstract is not an unacademic or unrealistic approach for considering human problems, studying the mass-society with all its materialistic orientation of human life.

When we begin analysing the nature of man, we turn our attention to certain analyses of human nature that have already been made by some philosophers. Philosophers have speculated on human nature, and they have differed in their views. Two diametrically opposite views are that man by nature is good, social and altruistic and that he is utterly selfish, egoistic and anti-social. The pessimistic view of human nature, if accepted will hold no optimism for the future and will wreck all our grand ideals of human solidarity, human unity and human brotherhood. If we are to contribute to the view that man is not a social animal, if we are to take it that men's relations are always governed by the rule of expediency in the game of life, social incoherence and instability will also have to be accepted as a fact, a fact over which man has no control whatever. This is social fatalism and might strike a blow at the philosophy of history, making people believe that they are not to make history, that they cannot make history, that they cannot determine what the future is going to be. Hence the theory deserves some analysis.

One of the classical exponents of the theory that man is utterly selfish and egoistic was Thomas Hobbes. In his *Magnum opus: Leviathan* he points out that all men are equally endowed with faculties of body and mind and that this is responsible for equality of ability, resulting in equality of hope. He writes: "From this equality of ability ariseth equality of hope in the attainment of an end. And therefore if any two men desire the same thing, which nevertheless they cannot both enjoy, they become enemies; and in the way to their end (which is principally their own conservation, and sometimes their delectations only)

3. I, XIII.

endeavour to destroy or subdue one another'. He specifically states that it is not in the nature of man to mingle with others in society and that man is always motivated (in his dealings with others) by considerations of making his own power over the others felt.[4] Hobbes argues that since man is selfish and since life for him is made uncertain because of the equality of ability, he agrees with all the others to form a society to enact rules and regulations to govern the conduct of men and to have a sovereign power to punish men who go by default. The social contract theory of the origin of society propounded by him is not considered here, but the basic analysis of human nature, to account for the origin of society needs some comment.

If, as portrayed by Hobbes man is really selfish and egoistic, it is highly improbable that he would have readily agreed to part with all his 'natural rights', to surrender them once for all to the sovereign body. But, if people do in fact acknowledge no motive except that of self-interest, — and Hobbes is at once the most extreme and the most consistent of all those who hold this view, — then it is impossible to account for that degree of cooperation and trust which are required for the formation of the contract. But, the coming together of all men to form a society by entering into social contract entails a willingness to co-operate on the part of those who come, and a willingness to co-operate implies a social sentiment in the form of a recognition of the need for rules and a social disposition which is prepared to observe them. But, if Hobbes' premises were true, this could not have happened. Unless it is accepted that man is by nature not selfish (or at least as selfish as Hobbes portrays him to be), we cannot account for the spirit of accommodation and co-operation that is seen in the members constituting humanity.[5] Moreover, it seems to be highly improbable that man who is supposed to be inherently egoistic and intensely selfish 'before the formation of society', becomes suddenly transformed, 'after the formation of society' into an altruistic, co-operative type of a human being. It seems hardly possible that man's inherent nature undergoes such a sudden transformation as to change his attitude towards others and to decide that he has to sacrifice some

4. *Ibid.* I XIII.

5. See C. E. M. Joad: 'Guide to the Philosophy of Morals and Politics', p. 479.

of his own immediate interests in order to gain a long-term advantage, — stable life in a coherent society. Such considerations go to show that man is basically good and social.

This view was maintained by Aristotle according to whom man is basically a social and political animal. The argument is that even the most elementary community, the family contains at least three persons: a man, his wife and his servant. It thus involves not only a certain specialization of function, but some exercise in the art of social relationships which we must therefore consider to be natural to man. The child, when it is born is already a member of a society — even if the most elementary the family. From then on, its personality is moulded by the little family environment. The simple fact of its inability, its dependence on its parents for all its basic requirements and necessities in life which continues for a considerable period cannot but leave a strong impression in its mind about the fact of dependence on the others in society. The attitude of give-and-take also develops side by side.

But, it should not be imagined that man is so social or gregarious that there is not a single moment of solitariness in his life, and, consequently that he is utterly good. Man's basic goodness is evidenced by his entering into fruitful social relationships, but, at the same time his bad elements also do come to play their part in the social relationships into which he enters. In effect it seems proper to believe that man is a curious mixture of goodness and badness, sociality and solitariness.

The peculiarity of human nature is that man is neither completely gregarious nor completely solitary. He is a pendulum between the two. Some of his impulses and desires are social, some solitary. The social aspect of his nature appears in the fact that solitary confinement is a tortuous form of punishment; the other aspect is seen in man's love of privacy and unwillingness to speak to strangers. Graham Wallace points out that men who live in a crowded area like London develop a defence mechanism of social behaviour designed to protect them from unwelcome excess of human contacts. People sitting next to each other in a bus or a suburban train usually do not speak to each other, but if something alarming occurs such as an air raid or even an unusually thick fog, the strangers at once begin to feel each other

to be friends and converse without reserve and restraint.[6] This behaviour illustrates the oscillation of man between the private and the social aspects of his nature.

The analysis of human nature we have attempted above, viz., that it is interwoven with the individualistic and the social elements, the subjective and the objective, the inward-looking and the out-going tendencies, the good and the bad elements offers us an insight into the war-mongering and peace-loving tendencies in human nature.

Even though man is unique among the products of evolution, he is not completely free from the basic animal instincts and propensities. The impulsive and the passionate elements in man are no less markedly present than in the animal, but they do *not* retain their rudimentary characters and are very much transformed by man's innate capacity for reasoning, pressure of experience and social tradition. These factors modify the instincts of man thoroughly. Human behaviour is 'seldom, if ever, determined by instincts fixed and specific as they may be supposed to have existed, prior to experience and independently of social tradition.'[7] It becomes evident from this that healthy transformation of the impulses and passions of man accounts for the existence of human societies in the different parts of the globe. The war mongering attitude is accountable by referring to the instinctive and the impulsive nature of man and the peace-loving tendency by referring to the transformation of these by means of social institutions.

Some psychologists say that 'pugnacity', the urge to fight is an instinct which man possesses in common with the animal and hence that the fighting tendency can never be eradicated from the human mind. But, the opinion of most of the psychologists seems to be that fighting is not an innate, instinctive urge in man.[8] The latter view is acceptable with the modification that pugnacity can

6. *Human Nature in Politics*, pp. 48-49.
7. Morris Ginsberg: 'The Psychology of Society', p. 13.
8. 'Is fighting an innate instinctive urge in man?' To an enquiry of this kind made of the 528 members of the American Psychological Association, 346 replied: 'NO' only 10 said: 'YES', 22 gave some ambiguous answers and rest did not respond. (See B. L. Atreya: 'Moral and Spiritual Foundations of Peace', p. 19).

be considered an instinct but the presence of the other more basic and fundamental instincts like gregariousness relegate it to a secondary level, since an analysis of fighting always reveals that it is not indulged in for its own sake, for merely satisfying an innate desire to fight but for something else.[9] Pugnacity, as one of the instincts or inborn drives expresses itself in the form of desires at the conscious level of the human mind. It is common experience that whenever the instinctive drives press for satisfaction and whenever they are not satisfied, they give rise to certain hostile or aggressive behaviour patterns. The frustrated individual exhibits aggressive behaviour. The effective prevention of such an aggressive behaviour on the part of the individual is by rooting out the cause of repression or frustration. Hence, even at the individual level, pugnacity, like other instincts in man needs to be overcome. Since a violent suppression of the instinct results in repression and the consequent dangers, a healthy integration of the various desires and their objects or a healthy control of the instinct is absolutely necessary.

At the social level, it is evident, it is due to a conflict among groups that wars are caused. Social psychologists say that wars are due to the fact that groups of men are reduced to the level of a mass which lacks the characteristic of an association. The individuals belonging to 'the mass society' — a society which 'just indulges' in war — do not exhibit the self-conscious, independent thinking and reasoning qualities. They moreover lose their critical judgement and allow themselves to be led by the line of thinking of the so-called leaders. This explains why, nations which would normally abhor certain forms of actions and violence, when they are charged with the war-like utterences of their political leaders, indulge in the very same acts they would normally detest and reject. Added to these is the unfortunate fact that the policy of least resistence and the tendency of the masses to shift the responsibility of thinking, willing and acting on the others who will willingly take it up. This tendency of the average man leads on the one hand to the leaders' taking up the attitude of dominance in order to gain their own personal ends, and on the other to the calm and acquiescent attitude of the people to the positions to which their leaders happen to reduce

9. See *supra.*

them. There being no resistance to the leaders' attempt at gaining some ends for themselves, even at the cost of the happiness of the common man, the possibility of the outbreak of hostilities between such nations or countries and their neighbours becomes much more.

In the light of the unfortunate tendency of expediency prevalent in modern times (described above) and in the light of our analysis of the psychology of war and peace, the traditional values of the Hindus containing a dynamic social philosophy and suggesting their applicability becomes significantly important and interestingly illuminative.

In the traditional analysis of the Hindus there has been a deep and psychologically well-founded scheme of values for the individual and for society. Since the Hindu philosophers firmly believed that in the ultimate analysis a given society is what it is because of the individuals constituting it, their prescription of values for the individuals and for society for the most part overlapped. Certain concepts, even though they are equally applicable to the individuals as well as to society need different emphasis and this is what we refer to as expanding an individual concept to encompass society and applying a social concept to the individual. This indubitable truth of social theory, the Hindu philosophers appreciated fully and will become evident in the sequel.

The most interesting and dynamic of the traditional values of the Hindus is dharma. The term dharma is used in several senses by the Hindu philosophers and has infinite shades of meaning attached to it. The relevance of the concept of dharma to the modern predicament is gathered from its significance for the individual and for society as envisaged in the Hindu tradition.

The concept of dharma refers to the general moral sense which has an important and significant place in human life. For, man's uniqueness consists in his powers of self-reflection and the consequent capacity for self-correction; the former enables him to distinguish between the Right and the Wrong and the latter is a result of the conscious conflict between the Good and the Evil, between the Ideal and the Actual which characterizes morality itself. To resolve the conflict that arises in the mind, man has to choose the one or the other. Thus dharma is essentially a human value operating in the universe of human ideals, its universe of discourse being the free-will of man.

The concept, it is evident is not merely an academic abstraction but is closely related to practical life and is capable of concrete application. Dharma represents a conscious practicalization of certain ideals of human life. The most significant aspect of the concept for our consideration here is that it is conceived as the general good sense of one who wishes and works for the welfare of others.

The perfectionist element in the concept of dharma is that human life culminates in perfection only when the individual transcends his egoistic tendencies, termed ahamkāra by the Hindu philosophers. This is at once to accept that man is not free from imperfection, that he is only potentially good and not actually so. If man were to be good already, if goodness had been an actually accomplished fact in human life, there would be no necessity for moral codes and even reflection about morality. On the other hand, if human nature were to be irrepairably bad, even the distinction between the good and the bad life would not have arisen, let alone a detailed formulation of the requirements of a beautiful life. The Hindu concept of dharma, by insisting on the necessity of getting over selfcentredness as a view and way of life reveals the Hindu philosopher's realistic analysis of human nature that it is only basically good, that there is a tendency in man to think more and more of his own self in utter disregard of the others. The concept clearly reveals the Hindu philosophers' appraisal of the dangerous situation for the individual and society if the selfish element in human nature were to be left unchecked. However confident the Hindu philosophers were about man's ability to get over this imperfection in life, they were intent on bringing home to the mind of man the fact that it requires a good deal of effort on his part to rid himself of the imperfection.

The close relationship between averting the ego-centric potentiality and the satisfaction of the other desires in man termed kāma by the Hindu philosophers impressed upon them the necessity to develop an integrated personality in order to stem down selfishness. A proper integration of the various aspects of the human personality by means of a healthy satisfaction of the legitimate desires felt by man is integration at the individual level, according to the Hindu philosophers. But, since the individual is always a member of society, it is in and through society that he can achieve an integrated personality. Also, since life in society

is necessarily characterized by sacrifices on the part of the individual, the individual, by participating in group-life is enabled to gradually overcome his selfishness. The concepts of artha and kāma having meaning for the individual only in a social context as also dharma clearly point to the imperative necessity of man's social life. Social life, with a proper understanding of the obligation of the individuals' existence in the midst of the others and a correct assessment of his own limited rights and unlimited duties to others itself constitutes dharma, according to the Hindu philosophers.

The traditional Hindu view is that man's life itself is a success or a failure according as he has lived well or ill a full social life. Here it should not be misunderstood that the Hindu philosophers were insisting that the individual should live the superficial social life. The superficial social life, characteristic of the modern age consists of certain formal exchange of courtesies and mechanical observation of specific etiquettes in the "art of getting on with fellowmen". The danger inherent in this type of attitude towards our fellowmen in our daily social intercourse is only too evident from our own experience, and needs no elaboration here. The unmeaning, formal, "social living" is equalled only by the hypocrisy of the individuals observing it scrupulously and meticulously. We see in it a wide divergence between the thought-pattern of the individuals (who observe it) and the external manifestation of them. Nurturing bad feelings within but making the others believe in the 'good and fine feelings' of the individuals is the outcome of the insistence on the formalized behaviour-patterns. The social aspect of the concept of dharma is therefore not to be equated with the correct observance of the social do's and don't's. It has a deeper significance. The dharmic type of behaviour does not exclude what we today call socialized behaviour. It includes this and much more. The dharmic behaviour of man does not stop with the formal, verbal expression of pity or concern, nor with the mechanical superimposition on oneself of kindly behaviour towards those who need the helping hand of the individual. The dharmic is social behaviour but moralized social behaviour.

The traditional Hindu view that truth and dharma are only the theoretical and practical aspects of one and the same value suggests the clear distinction between mere socialization and true moralization. In fact, truth and dharma are alternately referred as interchangeable terms. Truth in action is described as dharma.

The Brahadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad[10] identifies dharma with truth: 'Verily, that which is justice is truth. Therefore they say of a man who speaks the truth, he speaks justice or of a man who speaks justice that he speaks the truth. Verily, both are the same'. Sri Śankara, in his illuminating commentary clarifies and interprets the relationship between the three significant terms Rta, Satya and Dharma. An analysis of these terms throws clear light on the relation between the three concepts. Rta denotes the mental perception of truth, Satya denotes the expression in words of truth as perceived in the mind, and Dharma is the observance of truth in the conduct of life. Dharma is the way of life embodying the truth perceived. In short, Rta is truth in thought, Satya is truth in words and Dharma is truth in deed. Adherence to truth is necessary for the practice of dharma. The necessity of coordinating thought, speech and action (mano, vāk, kāya) is traditionally well known to the Hindus.[11]

The concept of dharma as embodying the moralizing principle in human life can thus be said to imply the proper socialization of man. Rather, for the Hindu moralization itself is socialization. This is illustrated by the Hindu view of hospitality as one of the forms of sacrifice (manuṣyayajña). Hospitality to a guest is universally accepted as a social virtue. The moralized social attitude (towards this virtue), insisted upon by the Hindu as the only right attitude requires that the guest is considered as God himself (deva). This is why hospitality as a duty one human being owes to another is referred to as Manuṣya-yajña in the traditional Hindu thought. Service to the poor and the downtrodden is not to be condescendingly looked down upon with the pride of self-giving but is to be looked upon to as an opportunity to serve God in the human form. Divinization and moralization of the concept of service raises it to the level of worship and makes it a duty which helps the individual who does it to grow in his spiritual stature. Socialization is the product of the purely humanistic and humanitarian outlook. Moralism is the outcome of the spiritual and ethical outlook. Though there is close affinity between them one is not the other.

Thus understood, the traditional concept of dharma insisting on the moralized socialization gives us an insight into the signi-

10. I.4.14. Cf. *Mahābhārata*: 12. 56. 24.
11. See *Mahābhārata*: 12. 254. 9.

ficance of another signal concept of the Hindu tradition, viz. the concept of mokṣa. This we shall examine before examining the other implications of the concept of dharma.

An analysis of the traditional value of mokṣa is here taken up since it is in this concept that we find the basis of the moralized socialization referred to above. In the traditional analysis, the concept of mokṣa is considered the puruṣārtha *par excellence*, since it is towards this that the other concepts like dharma, artha and kāma are oriented. Such an introduction of the concept of mokṣa at this stage in this paper might at once be objected on the count that mokṣa is a concept given by the Hindus for those individuals who are tired of life, who, because of this want to hide themselves in caves and forests or escape themselves on to hill tops where they can calmly meditate and attain their selfish end of perfecting their own selves.

Dr. Johnson is said to have expressed his love for the city of London in these words: 'If a man were tired of London it means he is tired of life itself'. In a similar strain the Hindu philosopher might say: 'It is not that when one is tired of life that he seeks mokṣa. It is rather that when a man is tired of mokṣa, he is tired of life itself'. The small digression here is just to illustrate the Hindu view-point on this matter of perfection (which is what mokṣa signifies) precisely. Unfortunately the concept of mokṣa is more often misunderstood than assessed in its true perspective. The concept signifies the Hindu way of describing the ideal of human perfection. The Hindu view precisely is that the perfected man, the man who has attained mokṣa, is one for whom his interests are not more but less important than that of the others. He does not derive the lucretian pleasure out of the suffering of humanity.

The non-attached outlook that results from mokṣa is essential for any form of serving mankind. 'A man who does good because it will be advertised, because he will profit by it, because he will get social credit, or because he will go to heaven is not superior to him who does all this detachedly for good's sake and without hope of gain for himself.'[12] The individual who does his duties in a purely disinterested spirit is likely to be more efficient, since, in general, expectation of fruits by man, modifies the quality of his actions. The performance of social service, for example is worth-

12. John Woodroffe: *Is India Civilized?*, p. 208.

while only if the individual does it for the sake of service and not for the sake of name or fame. The person who is intent on name and fame cannot be sincere in doing service to the others. Hence a detached outlook is essential. The higher virtues of serving one's fellowmen and humanity at large cannot be developed in the absence of the disinterested spirit. The Hindu view is that only when an individual is perfected he can go about the task of perfecting society. Also, once the individual is perfected, by the transformed nature of his personality he cannot sit quiet, calmly watching the unmitigated suffering of the rest of mankind.

It might still be pointed out that mokṣa refers to the individual and to talk of mokṣa as the beacon light guiding the ship of the individual life is to make individuals more and more inward looking rather than outward. The answer to this is that, though, on the whole, the concept of mokṣa refers to the individualistic side of human nature, the result of inwardization is transforming man into developing the truly universal outlook.

Our analysis of human nature in the earlier part of the paper has shown that no human being is either completely individualistic or solely social. It is now well-known that Dr. G. J. Jung's classification of human beings into the Introverts and Extroverts is too mechanical and broad since between extreme introversion and extreme extroversion, there are many individuals who represent the curious mixture of these tendencies. The individual and social elements are so inextricably woven in the texture of human nature that the individual cannot escape from looking inward, keeping himself aloof from society and analysing himself, his own thoughts and feelings. At the same time, again he cannot be so continuously or always because of the other elements in his nature which do make him outward looking or socially inclined. The social and the individual sides of human nature thus being inseparable, the more individualistic goals like mokṣa are not without their social implications or definite influence on society.

The significant fact about mokṣa as the concept of perfection in human life is that the other values of artha and kama are to be oriented, by the controlling rod of dharma to this concept. Mokṣa being the ultimate goal in life, perfection being the ideal-realization which is yet to be accomplished, it requires an elaborate preparation. That is why a significant place is given to dharma and kama in human life by the Hindu philosophers.

In this small paper it is not proposed to go into the details of the discipline prescribed for perfection. Suffice it to state here that the deep psychological insight of the Hindu philosophers made them give kāma (desire) and artha (wealth-pursuit) an important place in human life. Kāma they recognised as one of the fundamental aspirations of man, because it is desire that propels man into activity—whether it is the desire to build an empire or amass wealth or the longing of the spirit to have god-realization. Artha was given a significant place in human life because in the absence of the material wherewithal of life, even the development of the spiritualistic outlook on life is impossible. The Hindu philosophers, by their recognition of artha as one of the values have shown a proper realization of the fact that poverty does not make for virtue, because it only increases man's anxiety to secure wealth for his own upkeep and more often in ordinary human beings destroys the mind and corrupts the morals. They have also realized the fact that absence of security in life creates a tension in man's mind, a tension which makes him ponder over his own inability to exist independently of the others and to pursue his values. This tension creates in him melancholy and, as long as he has a troubled, anxious, distracted mind his entire energy is concentrated on relieving him of this state of mind so as to enable him to embark upon more fruitful activities. Under these circumstances, expecting him to pursue higher values in his own individual life or exhorting him to develop the ethical virtue of selflessness is pointless. With all this careful thought that the Hindu philosophers have given to the material aspect of life, they have consistently been insisting on the moralizing principle that ought to govern artha.

The Hindu philosophers' approach to the concept of artha was perhaps motivated by the fact that when institutionalized artha gives rise to the social institution of property with all its good and evil effects. When the individual adopts the dharmic path in regard to this vital social institution, viz. property—the social evils resulting out of an improper use of the institution are averted.

The incorrect approach to this institution sees society being divided into the 'haves' and the 'have nots' and the disastrous consequences to the world have been reflected only too well in the events that have taken place. By the political strength that economic prosperity endows to sections of society, there is invariably generated mutual bitterness. The bitter relations between them entails both the 'victor' and the 'victim' equipping themselves more

fully with material strength. The various nations divided by political ideologies are thus drifted into materialism, and science and technology are made use of for destructive purposes due to the unforgiving hatred generated between the different ideologies.

The various theories like Capitalism and Communism have originated mainly due to an improper understanding of and undue importance that has been attached to material possessions. Unfortunately one of the illusions under which man suffers today is that he considers the material possessions as ends-in-themselves or at least as the only means of attaining peace. The incorrect assumption is that if complete material satisfaction is achieved, even the desire for the values other than material can easily be dissolved. Happiness thus is given a purely material interpretation. Happiness is a state of mind and that is the reason why men and women who are fortunate to have all the conveniences that a material civilization has given them feel frustrated and have a definite feeling that they are missing something in their lives.

From the above it becomes extremely clear that we should go slow in moving by purely material considerations. The Hindu theory is very clear from the treatise on artha that Kauṭilya starts with the traditional four-fold classification of the basic goals or aspirations of the individual as dharma, artha, kama and mokṣa. But he confines himself to considering the ways and means of realizing the proximate goals of human existence, and hence he devotes himself to analysing the concept of maximization of wealth and territory.[13] He explicitly states that all enterprises and actions require economic means for their realization.[14] But he never says that artha determines the forms and conditions of social and political existence. He says: 'As dharma is the basis of wealth and kāma is the end of wealth, success in achieving that kind of wealth which promotes virtue, wealth and enjoyment is termed "success in all" (sarvārthasiddhi)'.

The Hindu philosophers anticipated all the evil effects of considering wealth as an end-in-itself and not as a means. The communist attack on the "possessing class" is justifiable in so far as it is an attack on the institution of property without human obligations. The Marxist argue that the owners of property are not

13. See *Artha-Sāstra*: IX, 1.
14. *Ibid.*

amenable to reasoning and only a revolution (violent one) which will crush them altogether will save the situation. The communist Manifesto (1848) demands a proper distribution of wealth.

But, it should be noted that proper distribution does not necessarily imply equal distribution in the literal sense of the term. That the individuals differ in their wants is at least true in Marx's famous statement: 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his need', the Hindu social philosopher would therefore recognise the demand for equitable (rather than equal) distribution of wealth to ensure social justice.

Once the principle of equitable distribution is accepted, the necessity of re-organization of society will also be conceded. But the democratic approach to this problem is that in the name of equitably distributing the wealth of a society or a nation, freedom of the individuals even in the economic sphere ought not to be curtailed completely. Yet, the assumption of an automatic harmony of interests in the economic sphere, the belief that, if each individual intelligently pursued his own interests, the maximum benefit would automatically accrue to society is not tenable. An individual pursuing his own interest does not in that process, perform his duty to society.

This social fact should not blur our vision in regard to a proper and balanced approach to according liberty to the individuals. We have to steer clear of the two extremes, viz. crushing individual freedom, reducing the individual to robot and granting unlimited freedom. Hence the organization of a society is not to be mechanically effected. Society is more like a flower garden where the flowers differing in colours and emanating fragrance of various types together add to the beauty of the garden than like a hedge of trees of the same species. Since any organization necessarily limits the freedom of the individual, the democratic theory accepts that there should be a voluntary surrender of certain rights. In such a theory the individuality of the person and his distinctness are not ignored. The individuality is truly realized by each voluntarily confining himself to certain limits, by his willing surrender to the common law and by his active participation in the reciprocal nature of group life. With the recognition of a common law, the institution of punishment for checking the wrong-doers is inevitable. For the sake of promoting the common good, for pro-

viding the conditions favourable to the development of personality, the institution of punishment is given importance.

Our analysis of the economic aspect of society has revealed the fact that the economic aspect determines the political and the institution of punishment offers the conditions under which alone man can develop his personality to its fullest extent. The institutions of the state and punishment are seen to result from the recognition of preserving the individual freedom to enable him to develop himself fully. The modern theories of state like democracy which seem to be exclusively political are in reality social—catering to the social aspirations of man, helping him to preserve his individuality and actualizing his potentialities for infinite development.

The Hindu tradition also recognizes the state as the main agency to create the conditions conducive to the dharmic life in society. The state as the embodiment of force or as the wielder of power of punishment has its justification only if it contributes to the full development of human personality. The state is not above or beyond ethics. Nor is it an end-in-itself. The power of punishment (daṇda) is not the wielding of naked power according to the whims of the Kṣatriyas. Kauṭilya makes a clear reference to the need for the exercising of power restrained by dharma. He says: 'In any matter where there is a conflict between dharma-śāstra and practices or between dharma-śāstra and any secular transaction, (the king) should decide that matter by relying on dharma'....[15] The dharma-śāstra writers also hold that dharma is the supreme power in the state and is above the king who is only an instrument to realize the goal of dharma. The Kṣatriyas are the guardians and servants of the law. The fulfilment of their duties and responsibilities by rulers is of paramount importance to the stability and orderly development of society, and to the happiness of individuals in the state and therefore one finds that rāja-dharma is said to be at the root of all dharmas.

The word rājadharma, that is dharma relating to polity is suggestive of the basic view of the state as conceived in traditional Hinduism. In the *Mahābhārata*[16] it is said that there are thirty-

15. See *Artha-Sāstra:* III, 1.

16. See T. M. P. Mahadevan: 'Indian Traditional Values: Their Universal Appeal' in *The Bulletin of the Sri R. K. Math,* Calcutta, May, 1962.

six virtues which a king should practice, and another set of thirty-six related to these. The sovereign's first duty is to secure the welfare of his subjects. In the happiness of the subjects lies the happiness of the king, in their welfare his welfare; the good of the king does not consist in what is pleasing to himself; what is pleasing to his subjects constitutes his good.[17]

From this traditional idea of the state has been evolved the policy of peaceful co-existence followed by India in her relations with the other countries of the world. Testifying this Mr. Nehru has stated: '.....We wish to co-operate with all in the quest for peace and security and human brotherhood....Peaceful co-existence is not a new idea for us in India. It has been our way of life, and is as old as our thought and culture'.[18]

Peaceful co-existence is the last of the five principles known as *Pancasila,* formulated by Nehru in 1954. The five principles are: (1) Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty; (2) Non-aggression; (3) Non-interference in each other's internal affairs; (4) Equality and mutual benefit; and (5) Peaceful co-existence.

These principles are born out of the principle of dharma in its application to international relations. Principle (1) is derived from the idea that dharma is the law of development. Everything in the universe has its own law of development. Human beings are of variegated nature and their full development is made possible by their developing in their own ways. This principle is at the basis of varṇa-dharma, the dynamic law governing the coherent development of the various classes in society. The principle, when applied to the various nations especially in regard to their geographical boundaries issues in this.

The second principle of non-aggression is not purely negative in character as it might sound at first. It is probably the extension of the principle of non-violence. Non-violence is not the attitude of the weakling. It is born out of the conviction that violence or use for force is not to be resorted to. In international relations, the principle means that a nation should not

17. *Artha-Sāstra:* I. 19.
18. Speech in Calcutta on 30 Nov. 1955.

launch expansionist policies. It is obvious, the second logically follows the first.

(3) Non-interference in each other's affairs: While principle (1) is the application of dharma as the law of development in regard to geographical boundaries, principle (3) represents the recognition of the fact that every nation representing a distinct culture needs to be left uninterfered to develop its own ways. This is also the acceptance of the general principle that freedom from outside interference is an essential preliminary for every state to concentrate on its own progressive measures.

(4) Equality and mutual benefit: The principle concedes that with the proper, uninterrupted, healthy development of the various nations, everyone of them is bound to be benefited by mutual exchange of ideas in the various fields. Equality here means that every nation deserves consideration. Thus interpreted principle (4) does not only lead to the various nations deriving benefit from each other but to the benefits accruing to them by the objective approach.

(5) Peaceful co-existence: This represents both the method of achieving the first four principles and the resulting international situation. The first four principles can become a reality, if every nation accepts the principle of following its policies in a peaceful way, believing in existing as friendly neighbours, working for world peace. Also, when the first four principles are practised, we will have a world in which there is not merely mutual toleration but acceptance of the principles paving the way for the realization of the ideal of human brotherhood.

In conclusion we might say that the policy of pancasila is one of the ways of accomplishing international understanding. Some may be of the opinion that the policy proved ineffective, but it is a matter of opinion, just as it is a matter of opinion in regard to the effectiveness of the United Nations Organization itself.

Dr. K. K. Pillai: As the President has said the subject is very wide; it can be viewed from different angles. Traditions themselves are of different kinds and their influence multifarious. These are religious, ethical, social, political and other traditions. The speaker, Dr. Gopal, has tried to trace the value of traditions

on Indian life and policy through the ages. He has traced the influence of traditions down to the present day and has even attempted to show how the current perils from Pakistan and China are in a way traceable to the abandonment of our past traditions.

I wish to touch upon one or two aspects of the subject. There are certain noble traditions, which if carefully adhered to, will confer much good. But not only on account of 'Modernism', but on account of an inherent weakness of mankind to think of selfish, communal, religious or other narrow ends, many such traditions have been ignored. We preach to others but we ourselves go against them. There is a divergence between theory and practice. Take for instance, the attitude of various political powers towards peace. On the one side, supported by their respective religious teachings, all powers have spoken of the need for peace and amity. Islam, the word itself means peace. But in its fervent desire to spread its faith, it has had to employ brutal force time and again. Christianity, too, swears by peace and amity! 'Love thy neighbour' is a golden maxim. But what has history shown us? Even the Hinduism which is essentially a religion stressing peace and the fleeting nature of human power, has resorted to war. True, the *Gīta* emphasised that if war has to be fought for the preservation of righteousness, it must be done and that relentlessly. But have all wars been fought only for the preservation of Dharma? The lame excuses advanced by the parties concerned are not the criteria. Impartial observes will certainly realise that many battles have been fought actuated by the vulgar greed for power. Perhaps the one outstanding instance in the history of the world of a person who decided to abandon war was Aśoka. He realised that the 'conquest of soul' is by far more important than conquests of territories. Not only did he preach the ideal; but he practised it too. This he did when he was himself at the height of world power. It is out of sincere conviction that he preached the gospel of peace. Nor did he stop with that negative attitude; he strove ceaselessly to preach the Gospel — the Dharma — to all people. However, it cannot be ignored that Aśoka's brilliant role is an exception rather than the rule. Many Buddhists, Hindus and people of other religions set aside their religious convictions and traditions when their own interests were involved. They have been attempted to be justified by the so called 'expediency' or the im-

pulse of 'self preservation'. But we are not entering into the justifications of one or the other of the parties. The fact is that theory and practice have diverged from each other very widely.

Only one other aspect of this consideration of traditions, particularly in relation to Hinduism, I wish to touch upon. The Hindus, like others, have developed numerous traditions, many of them of a socio-religious character. Modernism has affected them in several ways; but a dispassionate consideration of them will reveal that some old traditions have been modified and even abandoned without serious consequences. For example, the age-old tuft has been disappearing very fast. Certain patterns of dress, ornaments like ear-ring, etc., have undergone changes; but while the orthodox may bemoan these changes, really, in my opinion, there is not much to deplore. But where traditions are associated with religious beliefs or tenets, the changes effected by modernism are sometimes revolutionary and dangerous. Take the question of caste marks or certain observances which have a bearing on religious beliefs. Here also it may be argued that no serious consequence would follow if they are abandoned. No, if the neglect arises out of indifference or out of nervousness as to the possible adverse reactions of others, the changes should not be viewed with equanimity. If on the other hand it is the result of one's deep study of the meaning of these practices it is another matter. But more often than not, it is the former that is found; in other words a growing indifference, an absorption in worldly things and more than that timidity and lack of courage are responsible for the deplorable change. Even in respect of religion itself, apart from religious traditions and observances, if a rational approach even leading to atheism is the product of modernism, that by itself is not to be condemned, provided it is the outcome of serious study and contemplation.

Religion apart, Hindu society has, for ages, developed certain admirable traditions of personal cleanliness, family attachment, filial duties and so on. They are also occasionally under revision. They are affected by the stress of modernism. But it is my plea that such a tendency must be checked. There are certain wholesome habits which have been built through long ages and which deserve to be preserved and fostered. Take for instance, fasts, partial or complete connected with such religious observances as Śivarātri, Skanda Shashti, or even Full Moon and

New Moon days. They deserve to be continued; the body and mind derive benefit by such observances.

On the whole, then, sweeping generalisations that traditional values have declined as a consequence of modernism and that such tendencies should be vigorously arrested are not acceptable in my opinion. There are certain old irrational traditions which almost border on the range of superstitions; they can be abandoned. There are others which occupy a middle position — in other words those which are not fundamentally important, but which merely satisfy the sentimentalism of the old — these may or may not be kept up. Nothing serious will follow by the continuance or change of the pattern. In fact, if convenience necessitated by the change of modern life, occupations and customs demand it, these traditional habits may be abandoned.

But more fundamental and important observances, religious and social, which have values of their own, must be sedulously observed. Some of them inspire a deep religious conviction and solace. Take for instance Sandhyāvandanam. The real value of these observances is not understood by many who ought to know better. Take again the case of Prāṇāyāmam. How many of even the orthodox perform it properly? Practised in limits and under proper guidance, it is a wonderful exercise, at once for the body and for the mind. If these are abandoned due to "modernism" or due to modern conditions which do not afford the time for their observance, it is most unfortunate. They must be systematically and religiously observed.

Mr. Perumal Mudaliar: Culture should be a two way traffic between people living in different parts of the world. Our ancients were conscious of internationalism. I may quote the famous verse from *Kuraḷ* "Vaiyatuḻ Vāḻvāngu Vāḻbavan Vānuraiyum daivatul vaikkapadum". Even 2000 years ago they thought in terms of world welfare; for instance "Yāḍum ūrē yāvarum keḷīr" (*Puranānūru*). There was commercial intercourse of Greece and Rome with India, particularly Tamilnad. The commercial intercourse, led to cultural intercourse. Tiruvalluvar must have been aware of the works of Socrates, Plato and Aristotle and those people must have also known about us. Actually people from Greece came and settled in places like Kāveripūmpaṭṭiṇam. Regarding traditional values of Hinduism, I wish to say that there are certain traditional values which ought to be preserved. For instance,

tolerance. Tolerance is a dynamic concept. Tolerance has been known in India and that is why Hinduism has grown from strength to strength because it could absorb and understand all cultures, and all religions. Other cultures have crept into the texture of Hindu way of life. That is what has happened in India, — a fusion of various cultures. Tolerance is not mere submission. It is not also that you are not interested in other man's problem. It is a very important value, particularly in the present day world.

Then you have the traditional concepts of moderation or restraint. You must no doubt earn wealth. But the question is how much wealth do you want? If you are to run after material pursuits without end, you will not be happy. So there should be restraint. Another value is detachment. So there must be moderation, restraint and some sort of detachment, even if you are to pursue your own happiness. All these great values are enshrined in the Hindu texts like the Tirukuraḷ. Christianity and Islam also speak about these values. Every religion speaks of them but do the followers of these religions practise them? I am a teacher; I may regretfully say none of the boys know anything of these values. These values have gone and are not practised. Religion is taboo in schools. We do not teach these values in schools, because education is secular and we are asked not to tread on delicate grounds. We have to create an atmosphere where boys and girls could imbibe these values. Is there an institute to train people in developing these attitudes? If there is one I will be very happy. The only way to improve mankind and establish peace in the world is to create people who adhere to these values.

Agnihotram Tatachariar: Historians have admitted that our country has inherited a culture for thousands of years and this culture continues to exist till date. It is an irrefutable fact that Indian culture has got certain distinguishing characteristics and this will be clear if one cares to compare it with other cultures. Whatever may be the position of India and its races in the prehistoric times, India owns a culture which, so to say, is a synthesis of all thoughts. And this culture has taken shape in such a way that without losing its basic principles, it can assimilate and adjust itself to any other culture.

It may be asked, and perhaps legitimately too, whether there is any necessity at all to retain tradition, especially in the context of modern thinking. It should be remembered in this connection that tradition has its own significance. When a tradition passes

the test of time and stands in tact, some living spirit should be attributed to that tradition. The present day world is the result of past history and the revolving course of time. It will be incorrect to say that man does not need tradition just because he is gradually conquering the secrets of nature. It is, however, true that some of the unimportant elements of culture have been washed away by circumstances and environments. But, this does not provide sufficient reason to denounce traditions *in toto*. It may not be an exaggeration to say that tradition has prepared man to live under modern conditions and several principles of life enunciated in olden times also find a place in the present day living.

There are certain eternal principles in Indian culture which form its foundations. The modern man has inherited many things from pre-historic man. It is for the present day man to draw help and inspiration from these good principles of Indian tradition. Now let us see the important basic principles of Hindu culture.

According to our tradition, we give equal importance to life here and hereafter. Secular life is transformed into a spiritual one without infringing, in any way, its materialistic aspect. '*Ubhayōhō lōkayōhō abhijithyai*'. Likewise we Indians have two ways of life, one is positive (practical) and the other, is negative (vairāgya). Further, unity in diversity is the basic structure of Hindu culture. A feeling of oneness is found among the different races and different kinds of linguistic groups. Such a peaceful co-existence is indispensable in the modern times. We find that people living in different corners of the earth, belonging to different races and speaking various languages gather at one place for some purpose without sacrificing at the same time their religion or language. The need for co-existence is thus well realised. Peaceful co-existence is the spirit of our age. This aspect has been enunciated in our Vedas long long ago. The quintessence of Vedas is peaceful co-existence. This essential principle is extended to all aspects of life racial, linguistic and cultural. The peculiarity of Hinduism is that it tolerates other religions and allows their existence along with it. When there is this feeling of oneness, ideological conflicts become ineffective. In fact, a passage from Atharva Veda while glorifying Mother earth says that multi-races and multi-languages of earth enhance the greatness of mother earth.

Yet another important point concerns 'discipline'. Man is not an animal. He would not move or do things as he pleases. His actions are controlled by the laws of nature and land. Albeit differing details of discipline, the *sine quo non* of dharma is unquestionable. A vedic passage describes man as the embodiment of discipline. (*Manushyā vai dharmāha*). A major problem in the present time is the conspicuous absence of proper controlling agency in the individual. Here, tradition in the form of dharma helps substantially in bridging the gap.

As an aftermath of early renaissance emanated communism. When people faced communism they were in a dilemma and they got a little perturbed. Ideas of socialism are new for a tradition which does not know the underlying principles of communism. For Indian culture, however, socialist ideas are not new. It has given us the theory of gift 'dāna' and this is meant to nullify the economic equality that exists between the haves and the have-nots.

Four fundamental rights are mentioned by our scriptures, for every citizen, whatever be his status and social standing. Everyone must be free from hunger, thirst, disease and provided with shelter. Staunch opponents of Hinduism have concentrated their attack on the caste system, religious dogmas and rituals. But, the person who knows fully the history of Hinduism through its scriptures can say with an air of confidence that these are no hurdles in the path of progress. Rituals differ from man to man and from time to time. Caste system in its original rigidity is fast disappearing and dogmatic approach to religion is replaced by rational thinking. The latter is not against the spirit of religion. It is amply clear from the above that the fundamental principles of Indian culture are quite dynamic and the preservation of Indian traditional culture is an absolute necessity.

Mr. K. Santanam: It is certainly useful to have a comparative study of modern and ancient traditional values. But I feel there are certain spheres in which no real comparison can be made. Modern life has several aspects which are so totally different from the life of ancient India, that effective comparison cannot be made in those spheres. I regret that Dr. Gopalan should have concentrated on values that obtain in international politics in modern sense. Mere lack of communication made the relations between nations, rather casual and *ad hoc*. Therefore, I think it is rather far-fetched to say that modern international politics is

based on expediency and that it can be improved by introducing our ancient values into it. After all, Chaṇakya and Machievalli did not set any high standards for politics in olden days. It is also well-known that it was a tradition in ancient India that every King, if he was worth the name, should try to expand his kingdom and establish an imperial dynasty. Therefore, it is neither possible nor useful to compare modern and ancient values in the field of international politics. There are many evils in modern politics for which we have to find remedies. When Dr. Gopalan said that modern politics is regulated by expediency, I think probably he meant opportunism. Expediency in the correct sense means pragmatism and it is an essential feature of practical politics. It only means that in translating our ideals and objectives into positive policies, practical limitations have to be borne in mind. I agree that a great deal of modern politics is actuated by selfish and short-sighted opportunism.

I think that the proper fields of comparison of ancient and modern values are those which were common to both. We can have such comparison in the fields of religion, ethics, social life and cultural activities.

Ancient Hindu values in religion are enshrined in the Vedanta as interpreted in the *Bhagavad Gīta.* For the masses, temple worship, pilgrimages and the great pilgrim centres became the practical modes of religious life. Though the values contained in them may have to be reformulated and to some extent refined in the light of modern science and thought, I am convinced that they represent a higher human level than the present tendencies towards agnosticism, atheism and materialism.

Similarly in the field of moral values, the Hindu tradition emphasises truth above all else. The stories of Rāma and Harishcandra who gave up all other worldly advantages to follow truth continue to inspire our masses. Another moral value on which great emphasis was laid in ancient India, was chastity, both for men and women. It is true that men were allowed to marry more than one wife and there was an unfortunate double standard. Still the emphasis on chastity in relation to sex and generally, on Indriyanigraha or control of one's senses, has not lost its force even today. In fact they are even more necessary at present, as the temptations and opportunities for indulgence have greatly increased.

Lastly, Hinduism extolled the virtue of charity and compassion and though they may have to be re-defined in terms of modern economics, they constitute valuable traditions.

Regarding the status of the individual, I am afraid that, in ancient India, except Sanyāsins and strong minded persons, the individual was subordinated to society. In modern life, the freedom and initiative of the individual is perhaps over-emphasised but we have to get rid of the bondage to tradition and ceremonialism. At the same time, individualism should not be allowed to disrupt harmony and integrity of social life.

There are many cultural traditions which have come down to us from ancient times in relation to literature, music, painting and architecture which are perhaps unique in the whole world and which deserve to be carefully cherished.

I would generally say that in assessing the worth of ancient traditional values for modern life, two general principles have to be applied. All values inconsistent with modern economy and democratic government will have to be given up. Modern science and invention have made it possible for every country and people to visualise an economy of plenty. It is wrong now to extol the virtue of poverty. Similarly, democratic government is inconsistent with rigid hierarchical social structure, like the caste system. Therefore, we have to reconsider all our traditional values and see how far they could be reconciled with modern economy and democratic Government. Wherever reconciliation is not possible, we should have no hesitation in superseding the traditional values. Another criterion for assessing traditional values is the need to purge our social life of superstition and cermonialism.

Now what is the purpose of these comparisons? It is to prevent the old values from becoming heavy drags on the present and future, while at the same time, they help us not to be overwhelmed by the novelty of many of the false values of the modern age. The preservation of continuity of human evolution is of paramount importance and this can be done only by preserving whatever is valuable in the past traditions, while frankly accepting whatever is good in the new developments of the present. The educational system should be so organised, as to achieve this two-fold purpose.

T. M. P. Mahadevan: I am glad that a member of my Department presented the leading paper at this seminar. I am rather surprised that certain not very relevant points should have been raised during the discussion. It was stated, for instance, that in India we were accumstomed to submission to aggression rather than co-existence. I ask, which country during the period when it was politically weak did not submit to aggression? So long as the principle of the fish (*mātsya-nyāya*) prevailed in politics, there would be the aggressor and the aggressed. This is not a peculiar phenomenon to India. It is common to human history. That does not mean that India did not try to put into practice the principle of co-existence. May be that we failed. May be that we did not act up to the principle. Certainly if this and the associated principles were not there operating in Indian society, and Indian polity, India would have gone the way of many ancient cultures and civilizations of which we read only in history books to-day. It was pointed out that India in the past was caring for its own interests, and that internationalism is a new phenomenon. But what is happening today in this world? Each nation, if it can at all, wants to dominate over its neighbours and if possible dominate over distant peoples as well. This leads me to the main point namely that so far as man is concerned you cannot draw a line where the old ends and the new begins. The expressions like 'traditional' and 'modern' seem to me to be cliches without any real import. What significance do they have especially with reference to the values of which Dr. Gopalan spoke? What is there, I ask, that is traditional or ancient about them? *Dharma, artha, kāma* and *moksha* are really universal values. In what sense can we call them traditional or ancient? The good, the pleasing, the useful and the spiritual—they are not meant for a period or for a territory. They are meant to serve as the ideals for humanity as a whole. These values are neither traditional nor are they particularly Hindu. It is true that ancient Hindu scriptures have expounded the nature of these values and the need to pursue them. But that does not make them either parochial or ancient. If these are values that man should aim at, not in any way which is discordant, but in a manner which harmonises them, then the modern man also must follow these values. I say, these values must be followed in a concordant manner, that these values must be followed harmoniously without any one of them coming into conflict with the others.

Dr. Gopalan made a reference to Mumford's statement that science has created a fourth value, "the useful" in addition to the traditional triad, the True, the Good, and the Beautiful. But it is to be noted that the distinction between the "useful" and the "non-useful" is a modern western concept. The traditonal western thinker was speaking of the triad of values, Truth, Beauty, and Goodness. But in practice, the western man has been giving greater importance to the useful. Therefore this discord appeared which led to the characteristic evils of modernism. But in our scheme of values the useful finds its proper place. Artha, in fact, stands for the useful, and therefore while in the historical perspective of modern western thought, it may be true to call the "useful" the fourth value, from the standpoint of the Indian scheme of values, *artha* which is the second value has its legitimate place. *Moksha* is not one of the four values. It underlies the other three, or, it is the goal of all these three values, *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma*. *Artha* and *kāma*, if pursued in accordance with the principle of *dharma*, will eventually lead to *moksha* which is the *summum bonum*.

One point which Dr. Gopalan made in the course of his paper that has not been touched upon in the discussion is that *moksha* is not a selfish value. To say that *moksha* means selfish pursuit of one's own perfection is not to understand what *moksha* is. The characterisation of *moksha* as selfish realization of perfection is wrong because *moksha* does not stand for any selfish aggrandisement of even the spiritual values. In fact *moksha* is freedom from selfishness, and is not gained by preserving the individual ego. *Moksha* is attained only when the ego is completely lost or sublimated. I am convinced that Dr. Gopalan's thesis in regard to the need for the application of the scheme of these values to modern problems is worthy of consideration. No one can deny that we need to bring to bear on contemporary problems, the scheme of values with which we are so familiar.

I am rather sorry to note that *Panchasila* has been denounced, more than once from this platform. But I may ask the audience, to reflect on what such a denunciation would mean or imply. What is wrong with the five principles of international conduct recommended to every nation in the world? That some nations, while accepting *Panchasila* verbally did not intend to implement them, is no argument to say that the principles themselves are bad, and are not worthy of application. I am firmly convinced that what has

recently happened on the frontiers of India goes to reinforce the nation's firm belief that the alternative to *Panchasila* is destruction of mankind.

Mr. Bhat: I would like to say that modernism evolved out of tradition. After all, humanity is a continuous process. There is nothing like modernism disconnected from traditional values. In our daily prayers we say *Sarvejanāha Sukhinō bhavantu.* The Panchasila doctrine is nothing but an echo of this text. Regarding expediency there are innumerable stories in the *Panchatantra* and the *Mahābhārata.* We find examples of expediency in various other works also. Dr. Mahadevan spoke about Mumford on the concept of The Good, The true and The beautiful and said they are a kind of Purushartha. So we can see that we have evolved all these things from traditional values only. I think we can compare some of these traditional values with the findings of other great religions, for instance "Hallowed be thy name" (Lord's prayer) and "Pallāṇdu Pallāṇdu" (Vaishṇavite Prayer)—they are identical in their import. These are great values which have come down not only from Hinduism but also from other great religions and we find great philosophers have also thought alike.

K. S. Ramaswami Sastri: Modernism takes its stand on expediency whereas Hindu Culture takes its stand on Dharma. Modernism asks about every proposal: Will it work? Is it practicable? Hindu Culture asks about every proposal. Is it Dharmic (righteous)? Will it help the salvation and self-realisation of the human soul? The modern tendency of expediency has induced the common man to assume a materialistic attitude in regard to life and happiness. This attitude is intensified and accentuated by modern science and technology. It has led to an enormous and unbridled craving for the satisfaction of the instinctive pleasures of the senses which is characteristic of animals.

"Āhāranidrā Bhaya maithunam cha sāmānyam etat pasubhir narāṇām". "Dharmohi teṣāmadhiko viśéshah Dharméṇa hīnah paśubhih samānah" (In Dharma lies man's uniqueness and superiority. Without it he is like the animals). Formerly man glorified the true and the good and the beautiful. But the modern man is inclined to exalt the useful above the true and the good and the beautiful. The aims of life according to Hindu culture are Dharma and Artha and Kāma and Mokṣa (the Good, the Useful and the Pleasurable and Beautiful and the Eternal and True). Of

these Artha and Kāma belong to a lower plane than Dharma, and Mokṣha stands above them all on a supreme plane.

Śrī Krishṇa says in the *Bhagavad Gīta*: *Dharmāviruddho Bhūtéṣu Kāmosmi Bharatarṣabha* (In all beings I am Kāma which is not opposed to Dharma). This is not going to the bullock cart stage from the aeroplane age but it is going from the aeroplane age to the age of the Vimāna (the celestial car flying through space to heaven). Dharma, Artha and Kāma should be oriented towards Mokṣha and harmonised with it. A man cannot live on the earth for ever and ever tasting the pleasure of the sense. He who is born must die and he who dies must be reborn says the *Gīta*: *Jātasya hi dhruvo mrtyuh dhruvam janma mrtasyaça.*

If the ideals of the individuals constituting a society are fundamentally social and spiritual, the society will be stable and noble and happy. But if the individuals clamour for a life of satisfaction of the desires of the senses the society will be unstable and ignoble and unhappy. We must achieve an integrated human presonality which will pursue Artha and Kama which are not in conflict with Dharma and Mokṣha but will be in consonance with Dharma and Mokṣha. Only then we can have not only the socialisation of the individual but also the spiritualisation of the Individual and the Society. The supreme ideals of human life are Peace Śānti and Perfection and Daivī Sampath i.e. Life Divine as described in Chapter XVI of the *Bhagavad Gīta.* Individual Peace and World-Perfection and God-Realisation are a Trinity in Unity and a Unity in Trinity. The age in which such a unity exists is the true Kritayuga (the era of perfection). The basis of world-perfection and God-realisation is individual peace and self-composure. That is why in all Hindu ceremonies (individual and social and national and international and spiritual) we utter the well-known words of prayer *Om Sānti, Śantih, Śanti* (Peace, Peace, Peace).

Dr. K. C. Varadachari: The word modernism connotes upto-date-ness in terms of activities and habits and patterns of behaviour. Science has made great strides and all are expected to speak the language of science emulate the scientists in all sorts of ways, in dress and interest. Technical development and inventions have made man take life more pleasantly. Hedonism has come to its own, and pleasure is the goal. As the ancient Mimamsakas described dharma or acts as those which grant pleasure here or/and

hereafter, this is a scientific return to that view which holds that all activities must be geared up to the realisation of pleasure. This only shows that nothing is really capable of being modern fully but yet we can speak of modernism as the cult of being secular or trying to be uptodate.

Traditional culture or values of tradition are basically of human patterns of behaviour distinguished from race to race, religion to religion, caste to caste, sect to sect in order to realise the universal (eternal or sanātana) ends of life. Psychologically man is fourfold in nature, he is a physical being requiring physical things, food, shelter, water, etc .... these are the things (artha) he needs in order to survive as a human being; he is a vital being, having desires such as sex, pleasure, power, (kāma); he is a mental being who wants law and order, knowledge of causes and effects in order to be able to predict the future. His desire or need is for dharma or order, ethical, vital and physical, and logical. He is also a spiritual being seeking freedom from all limitations of the physical, vital and mental which bind him to the social and private life, and also freedom from death and rebirth. All religions seem to compromise with these fourfold ideals. This is a universal set of values. However it is to be noted that traditional ways of operating in particular societies vary in respect of attaining these ends. The Hindu way by and large is through the institutions of Varṇa and āśrama, and the yogas. Even here varṇa has many facets in different parts of the country. Heredity plays a great part or rather at the present moment the only part, despite serious 'modern' attacks which wish to restore the original principles of guna (quality, sattva, rajas or tamas) and karma (action) for classifying men into the four orders. The tradition is here being challenged by modern rationalism or renaissance. Traditionally aśramas also are known as brahmaçarya (pupil), grhastha, Vānaprastha and Sanyāsa. This is obliterated by the modern type of education and industrial community and lack of spiritual direction in them.

Traditional ways of worship of God and rituals are also questioned but the spirit of enquiry is modern and is trying to unravel the significance of all of them. Joint family organisation is also under strain even as community unity is being severed. Modernism strives after a secular diversity whereas traditional Hindu way has been and continues to be for preserving at least a semblance of unity.

Mr. S. Govindaswami: I shall feel grateful if the leader of the Seminar would consider the following aspects.

I take it that the period he would deem "modern" could commence from the beginning of this century or even later. If so, certainly, the period of the *Mahābhārata* could be included in the period of the "traditional ways of Hinduism". (*Mahābhārata* cannot be brushed aside as just a great literary work. Because, it contains the *Bhagavad Gīta* which is the essence of the Upanishads, and is said to be the quintessence of Hinduism). Lord Krishna, the real Hero of the *Mahābhārata,* directed almost every battle and fight of consequence and importance. And, in almost every one of them it is the end (righteousness) that justifies the means adopted.

The maxim in law "*Equitas Sequitar Legem*" means that law follows equity, or justice. Every enactment of law begins "Whereas it is *expedient*".

Therefore, taking the example of the Mahābhārata and the Preamble of even current enactments of law, it cannot be said that the word "expediency" indicates any fall from the traditional Hindu standards. Where the cause is righteous and must be fulfilled, certainly, as exemplified by the Mahābhārata, the means need not be perfect.

In this century, man has grown so intelligent as to venture to justify even wrong things ("wrong" in the *opinion* of the great, in the past). Hitler argued, and with tremendous success upto a limit, that even Jew-baiting was justified as a means to undo the injustice perpetrated by the Treaty of Versailles. Earlier, the British were justifying colonisation, for the reason that they alone knew what was good for man. Now, China openly declares that communism is so righteous for the larger numbers of mankind that a global bloody revolution to achieve global communism is not only justified but is urgently called for.

In conclusion, it can be said that, because side by side with the increase in man's intelligence his faith in God has been getting less and less, he has ventured to attempt what inscrutable God did for His ultimate righteous end. In the *Mahābhārata* itself, the actual dastardly way of the killing of Droṇācharya (when he was in yoga Nishta, concentrating on spiritual unison with the Supreme, unarmed and eyes closed), by holding up his tuft and cutting his head provoked his son Aswathāma into unleashing all his worst destructive weapons his father had provided him with, and in effecting almost devastating destruction, overnight, when everyone was

asleep. Lord Krishna did not stop this; He said he could not. His justification could be that, for the way Drōṇāchārya was killed, the victors preeminently deserved that. Lord Krishna secured and saved only the Pāṇdavas (the 5 brothers and their families). This definitely indicates that there is insuperable difficulty for the human being to discriminate between means and means, even where the end is justifiable as righteous.

Willie nillie, the world now seems to be heading towards total annihilation of intelligent but unscrupulous, atheist man, as the Lord's way of a total cleanup which is fast becoming not only imperative but imminent.

Mr. M. S. Gopalakrishnan: Universal brotherhood is a fine ideal. It appears to me that this remains still as an unrealised dream in the minds of men. Achievement and fulfilment of this ideal demands not mere sacrifices of some individuals, but of nations. Man does not appear to be a completely righteous being, though he talks of *dharma* quite often. The world requires a charismatic leader, I think, for its regeneration into something noble and significant. This means that a new manifestation of the best in man is yet to come.

Values have to change and traditions should also change in a changing world, technologically. The fundamental needs of man so long as he remains human cannot change. If modernism has affected the traditions of the Hindus, it is more due to historic circumstances than to inner impulses. A supernaturally oriented culture as that of the Hindus has to adapt itself to the environmental changes. It is the moment that matters more than anything of the past or of the future. After all every moment is only a cumulative effect of its past. The tragedy is that man speaks much of higher things but unfortunately his actions all the time are against his own sublime nature and the will of the Divine.

Dr. V. A. Devasanapati: Modernism is, according to the *Concise Oxford Dictionary*, 'modern view or method, especially tendency in matters of religious belief to subordinate tradition to harmony with modern thought'. The paper prepared by Dr. S. Gopalan is concerned with the challenge posed by modern times to humanity. He discusses the question whether the traditional values of the Hindus will enable them and, incidentally the world at large, to face this challenge successfully. The traditional values of the Hindus, dharma, artha, kāma and mokṣa are conceived in such a manner that one who elects to realise them will "have life

and have it abundantly" not only for himself but also for the rest of society. The principle underlying the four values is basically the same, viz., so to live that whatever one does, whether one strives to live righteously or earn wealth or seek happiness or get liberation, one grows in spiritual stature by gradually overcoming egoism and all sense of "I" and "mine". To the extent pursuit of the traditional values brings about such growth in spiritual stature, there is success in meeting the challenge of Modernism. Indeed, we may venture to say that where there is liberation or mokṣa from self centredness, there one has successfully overcome not only the challenge of time but also the challenge of place. One becomes a citizen of the world. For such a person every place is like his own home-town, and every person like his own kith and kin.

Mr. A. N. Krishna Aiyangar: The subject of the present symposium *Modernism and the Traditional Values of the Hindus* presented to us by Dr. Gopalan is of great interest to us, particularly at the present juncture when Indian society is feeling the impact of innumerable pressures from all sides both from within the country and from without. I, for my part, expected, and it seemed to me that the title indicated it, that the principal speaker would be considering the basic principles of Hindu thought and culture and the pressures they are subjected to at present, have been subjected to in the last one and a half centuries, their present position with an indication as to their probable future in the scheme of the philosophy of life of our country. In my humble opinion the basic consideration of Hindu thought and culture have centred round the undermentioned concepts that have been dealt with at length in all basic texts dealing with the subject. They are:

1. Varṇa, and Āśrama scheme of Hindu Society.
2. Theory of Karma and its corollary law of transmigration.
3. Theory of the Four Puruṣārthas.
4. Doctrine of the three natal debts.

All these four concepts which constitute the basic Dharma of the Hindu are now subjected to intensive pressures in our society which is now oriented with Western conception of thought and modes of life.

Advances made by scientific discoveries and their application to problems of modern life have produced funny situations. Speed

in travel has now reduced the size of the world. Ideas are communicated in the fraction of a second over long distances of thousands of miles. The outer space is under scientific investigation with the possibility of interplanetary travel in the near future. Domestic life is now crowded with electrical gadgets which has reduced the drudgery of household work. Food habits are changing rapidly even in houses where tradition holds sway, by the impact of individuals who have returned with foreign degrees and have lived for considerable periods of time in outside countries.

The two great world wars of 1914-18 and 1939-45 which shook the world to its very foundations raised acute social political and economic problems in their wake. The devastating effects of the first war were hardly forgotten before the second and more destructive second conflagration ran its course with its tremendous advances in science. And the return of the war veterans in India created social problems of immense importance and impact even in the remote corners of the village of this country. The youth of the country who went as recruits to the army in their impressionable age and returned as demobilised adult veterans had imbibed habits and ideas in a regimented manner in the army and as adults tried to influence the social life of the people. I had expected some of these problems to be touched by the speaker.

India or Bharat is now a secular state in which religion is a minor issue. She is engaged in creating a new society out of the old existing one—a society with a socialistic pattern in which old ideas of Varṇa and āśrama will have no place, in which equality of opportunity will be vouchsafed to every citizien and an equitatable distribution of the wealth of this country among the citizens will be progressively realised. In what manner do the traditional ideas and values hinder or help the efforts of the makers of the socialistic pattern of society? If they hinder the creation of such a society what is the future of these traditional ideas in the new scheme of social set up? And since all obstructive force must naturally be removed for smooth development of the country, what other ideas and ideals will replace old values?

Dr. Gopalan has however dealt with the concepts of Dharma as the most interesting and dynamic of our traditional values, its moral force and significant place in human life. He has also tried to present some ideas of the impelling force of desire (Kāma), Artha or pursuit of wealth, in relation to social life. Man lives in

society and has to realise an integrated personality only as the member of a society. Kauṭilya's ideal of a full personality lies in one who enjoys life in accordance with Dharma and without violating the rules of Dharma and artha or the possession of wealth. One should avoid too much of austerity (*Dharmārthā-virodhéna Kāmam sévéta—na nis-sukhi syāt*). Rules regulating the life of the members of the society have nowhere enjoined absolute abstention. All that they have enjoined is to regulate its occurrence in a limited manner and at intervals regulated by consideration of enjoying a full life for a long time and to avoid excesses of all kinds.

Life in a joint family was the training ground for many virtues which are considered essential in human conduct. The joint family developed qualities like patience, capacity to think and act in terms of one near and dear to one-self, the spirit of give and take, and to share the fortunes as well as misfortunes of the family as a group and to work for the uplift of the family. (Cf. *Eko gotré prabhavati pumān Yah Kutumbam bibharti*). The family helps the weaker members to sustain themselves in the unit and acts as a poor house for them for otherwise they would have been thrown outside the orbit of the family and be a burden on the state. This family is now disintegrating and individualist tendencies are coming more and more to the surface leading to its extinction. In the future set up of a socialistic pattern of society what is the future of the institution called family?

Further, the test of the culture of a country is its scheme of education which inculcates its culture. Ancient Indian education which taught Indian culture and literature was based on the four basic concepts mentioned above and with those ideas as the central concepts education taught the Vedas and the Śāstras to attain its end in producing citizens, who will be learned, dutiful sons, fathers and brothers, worship the family gods and ancestors and carry on the tradition. But the present system of education in a secular state has avoided all religious instruction and the old values have no place. English education given to the country by the East India Company and its successors, the British government is a system which traces its origin from the Greeks and Romans and passing through the hands of the early Christian fathers and the medieval monks gained experience in the times

of the Renaissance and the Reformation in Europe and shaped itself to suit Christian society admirably. But when it was introduced into this country under the East India Company in the thirties of the last century, Indian thought, culture and methods of education received the rudest shock and lost its moorings. What has remained of an ancient thought we owe to the labours of foreign scholars who worked with enviable enthusiasm and the tenacity with which the orthodox communities of the country held to their literature, and culture. It is a wonder that in spite of all odds against survival so much of our tradition has survived all these centuries.

Similarly, the creation of a socialistic pattern of society will depend for its success on the manner in which the educative process is geared in the country. For education is the means by which all else is realised. Its importance in any country is to be seen in the system of National education in the various countries and the extent of success which they have achieved. To the communist, education is the chief process of indoctrination and propaganda. No democratic state with an adult franchise can afford to neglect the process of educating its citizens in the culture and literature of the country for it is they who ultimately govern the country and those who are at the head of a government have to qualify themselves for the post by undergoing the process of education and coming out as the best products.

This leads us to a consideration of the type of education that a state should enforce or encourage for the smooth creation of the socialistic pattern. In this process how much of the total ideas of traditional values will survive and how much of it will be left behind will depend on the aims and methods of education to be implemented. The process will also entail a separation of the most permanent and everlasting element of *Sanātana Dharma* from the rest and the retention of the former for incorporation in the new system. The process will be one of selection of the most important which can be done only by experts in the line.

Modernism, as I understand, is the sum total of the present civilisation which a normally educated person stands for and has undergone the process of education under modern methods, with its implication of scientific advances made and the extension of the frontiers of knowledge day by day with the application of the fields of such scientific knowledge to problems in life. This

can never be a fixed point and the process is likely to be ever widening and every consideration in this light will have to be periodical. One should be prepared to rediscover old values in the light of new advances which may bring to light new factors, that may altogether change the outlook. For, the rapid advance made in the realm of scientific knowledge have thrown all anticipation behind.

There is a school of thought which values traditions and traditional values as the highest contribution of Hindu culture to world thought. To them there is nothing new and Sanātana Dharma is eternal. Vedic knowledge confers the key to all thought-past and present and future—to those who can decipher and unfurl the thoughts by proper interpretations. The key to such interpretation lies not in mere accumulation of knowledge in a single individual or group, but it comes as a gift. A claim of this nature is well worth substantiating by a modern commentary on the Vedic texts in the light of present developments bringing out the modernism of Veda and Vedic knowledge.

It appears to me that whatever be the pressures on our society—it is bound to withstand such pressures and emerge in a new form with its old values re-emphasised. Its resilience has been phenomenal. A society which has outlived onslaughts on its framework for the last two thousand years, and has gradually absorbed outside elements and outlived outside dangers, a society which had resisted the victorious march of Islam and political subjugation of the country for nearly a thousand years, a society which had resisted the efforts of Christian missionaries under the British regime is now on trial under an independent sovereign government, the Union of India which is our own. Given the fair opportunity our society is bound to emerge with its old values in new forms and quite encouragingly to suit the new conditions of a socialistic pattern.

However, I have put forward some of these ideas for the consideration of the main speaker as I feel that these aspects merit attention at his hands as well.

K. N. Ezhuthachan: I wish to make a few observations on the subject: The concept of the four *puruṣārthas* of the Hindus is old only in the sense that they were enunciated long back and not that they are essentially out-of-date now. Of the above four

mokṣa was clearly a later addition; the first three constituted the *trivarga*. *Mokṣa* is palpably an individualistic conception and construing it on the modern socialistic ideas seems to be artificial and farfetched.

The conception of *dharma* envisages the traditional way of life, beliefs, habits, ideas, etc. of a people. It has a wide connotation based upon the changing conditions of the society in which man lives and works. Its significance is vague and traditional ideas can be changed by new environmental factors as also by effective propaganda. The old Hindu society had its *dharma* based on the *varṇāśrama* system which had its ultimate roots in the economics of production and distribution. All religions and people have their own concepts of *dharma* but they will agree in essentials for they have been formulated by men in civilized societies and have the material and spiritual benefit of the people as their aim. All values are relative and the *dhārmic* conceptions of different societies may vary according to time and place. This is applicable to Hinduism also.

The conceptions of *artha* and *kāma* are basically of universal application. The fact is that with the surprising modern technical advancement the acquisitive tendency inherent in man has received substantial incentive. The social life under modern conditions both under capitalism and communism has become more and more oriented towards material comforts but it should not be thought that man in ancient society was less carnal or less pleasure hunting. The simple fact is that old societies lacked modern facilities. The instincts of self-aggrandizement, selfishness, acquisition etc. were there from the very beginning; modern material conditions have simply given more scope for their expansion. It will also be observed that action and re-action work together and forces of disruption as well as unity are simultaneously working in the modern world. From a historical point of view, man with all his failings and blunders is advancing. He is widely awake to the new problems and has become more and more scientific in his outlook. There is no doubt that solutions will be found sooner or later for all the difficult problems which confront him now for there is a purposeful attempt for it. I do not think that any specific religion or philosophy based on traditional values and concepts can play any effective role in this movement for they are too idealistic and weak. The general

humanitarian ethics will work for the common salvation. I do not subscribe to the view that there are some distinct traditional values for the Hindus which are exceptionally beneficial for the modern world; even admitting there are some, they cannot work under modern conditions and hence are useless.

It is an error to think that modern man can be studied apart from the political and economic factors though this was to some extent possible in olden days when the productive forces of society were simple and the social organization less complicated under a rigid feudal scheme. Though man's salvation has to be worked out individually, yet society with its modern political and cultural weapons can create conditions wherein his animal instincts can be tamed to a great extent. Institutions can be found to check inhuman behaviour an instance for which can be our courts which have replaced the old blood-feud and direct vengeance.

No human society can be made perfect. I do not believe that the Hindu society was at any time a paragon of beauty or purity. As a matter of fact, many of our old ideas and values are only the reflections of our backwardness in social and economic conditions. It is only recently that our society has come out from the dungeon of age-long superstitions and customs and that also to a limited degree. It is the West that has rudely awakened us from our slumber and self-complacency. Traditions are valuable only in so far as they are useful for the present. It should also be borne in mind that with the modern weapons of propaganda any idea can be injected in the minds of the people and we see nations are fed on falsehoods at times for the sole benefit of their leaders.

It is useless to bring *Pañcasila* and all other political platitudes in our discussion of Hindu conception of values. Admittedly we are an old nation but our ideals and values are not intrinsically different from those of other civilized societies either in the East or the West. The curious idea that we are superior to other nations in morality and ethics, which got currency in the good old days of nascent nationalism when we looked to the past for spiritual inspiration, has to be discarded. We had our good and bad ideas and ideals and it is mere hypocricy to think that there is a mission for the Hindus and that they are going to redeem the world. Like all other peoples in the world we have produced

saints and thinkers but the real question is how far the people in general have practised the virtues contained in their books. Can the modern Hindus honestly claim that they are more altruistic, self-sacrificing, peace-loving and truthful? We must look through the eyes of others or practise some introspection. *Pañcasila* etc. are mere political cants and catchwords and it is our duty to see that politics does not cloud our calm academic thoughts. The old Hindu philosophers have, of course, enunciated high ideals regarding the unity of mankind, but such ethical generalizations like *vaśudhaiva kutumbakam* (world is our family) or *yādum ūrē yāvarum kēḷir* (world is one and we are all friends) have very little to do with our specific international affairs and problems. Internationalism in the modern sense was also unknown to the ancients. It is not the want of ideas or ideals that stand in the way of world peace; what is needed is the means to establish a world order wherein human values can thrive. We must remember that human societies living under different cultural levels and economic and political set-ups have come up in recent days and adjustments in the international field will take time. We have a problem of national states. Science and technology has placed great powers in the hands of man whose humdrum political and social institutions are unable to cope with the complicated problems that have suddenly arisen. While tackling these problems we have to take into consideration the huge economic forces working underneath. It is not a question of understanding or honouring ancient ideals or illuminating the old texts with modern commentaries. It is a matter of applying the great human ideals to the complicated life of modern society. I think more stress should be put on this aspect. It is no use asking man to be truthful and honest when you create conditions wherein money is made the supreme good and men are goaded by their desire to amass more and more wealth to attain power and happiness. It is hypocricy to teach austerity when your factories are flooding the markets with fashionable goods which are patronised by the wealthy and coveted by the poor. You cannot stop black-marketing by condemning it or quoting scriptures against it. The intelligent way to do away with it is to create conditions which will make it useless. Similar is the case with almost all social evils. This does not mean that individuals are to be neglected; but under modern conditions it is better to lay stress on social means and collective actions. I do not think that a discussion on the Hindu view of

life or Hindu *dharma* has much practical value when we are confronted with vast human problems created by the modern material forces. The view that if each individual becomes perfect, the society will inevitably become perfect is too naive. It forgets the essential weakness of mankind and the multifarious social forces which obstruct the human will at each step in the modern world.

I would like to touch on one more point. We usually hear that the East is spiritual and the West, material. Historically speaking, Europe was as 'spiritual' as India in the Middle Ages. The Renaissance and the Reformation had great undercurrents of material progress. Silent economic forces which were working for a long time ultimately cut asunder the existing feudal society. The rise of Calvinism and other religious orders, the organization of national States and a number of other events which we see happening at the end of the Middle Ages in Europe are all intimately connected with a social and economic revolution which established new class relations. New forces in the fields of production and distribution have done much to change the course of historical events. History is, scientifically speaking, to a great extent economically determined. The Marxian view that Mind precedes Matter may not be totally true but seems better than the Hegelian idealistic conception when we study any social phenomenon. The modern historical outlook studies man in society and that too in its economic setting. We can say that Gandhiji was a political and religious saint who led India to freedom; but a student of history knows that Gandhiji was also an effective instrument in the hands of the bourgeois revolution which started in India in the latter half of the 19th century. The idealistic outlook often overlooks these important facts. What I mean to say is that our religious precepts and philosophic ideals have to be studied and evaluated in social contexts and not in isolation. It is doubtful whether the Hindu tradition or its idealistic approach has any surpassing claims over other idealistic systems which copiously sell the concentrated pills of self-purification for all social evils.

As I said before, our real problem is how to put the various ideals into practice under the existing physical conditions. The Hindu view of life is not essentially different from the view of the other cultured peoples. Traditions may slightly differ but the

central principles are the same and as such we have to take human problem in its wide context and apply realistic standards in our evaluation.

K. R. Sundararajan: The following are the maladies that Dr. Gopalan sees in the modern world (perhaps primarily in the West): the sense of expediency guiding all international affairs overlooking justice, a corruption in the morale of common man due to material trends in human life "inaugurated by enormous development of science and technology" and this corruption being expressed in finding fulfilment of "unbridled desires and indulgences in instinctive cravings". As a possible remedy for this condition of man and society, the speaker considers the applicability of the four traditional concepts of Hinduism, Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Moksa, and in them he finds "the fundamentals of good life". These Purusharthas that the Hindu Philosophers had formulated, says the speaker, were not based on "sandy foundations and airy speculations" but were based on "correct psychological understanding of man". Perhaps it is one of the grounds on which the speaker vindicates the feasibility of its universal application.

It is true that Artha and Kāma are the dominating aspirations, to this day, of a human being, but the practical difficulty arises only when these aspirations are sought to be linked up with Dharma and Moksha. How could one addicted to the pursuit of Artha and Kāma, in their natural form, shape them in accordance with the requirements of Dharma and Moksha? Though theoretically it has been shown that Artha and Kāma can go together with Dharma and Moksha, we should admit that practically this was, and could only be adopted by a few in our Hindu Society. Some of them saints have undoubtedly shown that one can pass from vishayakāma to Isvara Kāma, but these instances are rather limited. Man continues his pursuit only of *vishayakāma* and therefore the very fact of this being so even in our Hindu society where these values had been preached from ancient times, undoubtedly damps our enthusiasm to prescribe these values as remedies affecting man and society. The primary problem here is, how to make man imbibe these values (Dharma and Moksha) and the solution to this should be worked out on practical lines. It must take into consideration *Man as he is* and yet should aspire for making him what *man ought* to be. This is the perplexing situation to which we should respond at the present context,

and I do not know how far Dr. Gopalan has succeeded in throwing light or has worked a useful formula for this problem. As for me, I am still in the dark.

K. V. Soundararajan: It is apparent that the leader of the Seminar has in view a restricted implication of the Hiindu traditional values. Traditions could be ancient as well as recent, and again they could well include good as well as bad traditions. Perhaps by the world 'values' the good values alone are desired to be emphasised. Even so, it is felt that the title is rather restrictive and does not do justice to cultural and social motivations of an evolving society. Traditions and modernism are not poles apart but are indeed the past urge and the present urge. Notwithstanding any qualitative character of either, they are relative. There is always a desire for man to modernise himself, a thing which is the direct influence of the contemporary social environment over him. Since environment makes or mars man, we should take it as an inevitable factor. The urge to modernise one's immediate social and religious life at any given time is thus part of evolution and is not likely to be obstructed by a mere wish. On the other hand, the ancient Hindu Dharma in its hard core, is a fundamental code of social conduct in an actual and not a theoretical society. Its values are of a permanent perennial or universal import, since they cover all the practical legitimate needs and requirements of man in his life time, both physical, moral and intellectual. The four kinds of Purusharthas, namely, Dharma, artha, kāma and Moksha are the four stages of physical and organic growth of human endeavour, under diverse environments. The diversity of the environment will not be affecting the growth but would only differ in intensity. The word Dharma used in the four Purusharthas, is not the omnibus term 'Dharma' which is the universalised, integrated norm of temporal conduct and behaviour, but the first stage of man's life, namely, when he educates himself about the Dharma or socio-ethical-religious conduct that he should practice. This Dharma stands indeed for the essentially intellectual comprehension of one's beneficient heritage. Thus, again, artha is the pursuit of wealth for material well being; kāma is the right channelisation of the animal urges inherent in man for the best results both of himself functioning in the narrow family or community as well as for the world, as a method of selective procreation; and moksha is not liberation or attainment of some etherial goal in the other world but getting emancipated from the attachment of life, and is thus primarily detachment in the

best sense. The goal of paradise is certainly its logical, metaphysical, but distant vista. Indeed, we do see a degree of coordination between Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Moksha, and Brahmacharya, gārhastya, Śanyāśa, wherein the second stage, namely that of the householder would achieve artha and kāma. Thus, this fourfold āśrama for the pursuit of the fourfold Purushārthas has an absolute value, and it is this part of the Hindu Dharma that is of universal merit, and not the other caste or ritual elements in it, which are merely part of the discipline within a community. Such a discipline existed for the Vaiśyas, Kshatriyas, etc., also.

Dr. K. K. Pillai spoke about the essential selfishness of man. It is not clear if his contention was that man would not become perfect but remain selfish to a large extent. But one thing is certain, selfishness is the fundamental instinct upon which man develops from an individual into his own family, from that into his own community and into his state and his own nation, and ultimately carries the germ of universality. Yājñavalkya had said even in the ancient context '*Na patyuh-kāmāya patipriyo bhavati Ātmanastu kāmāya patipriyo bhavati*'. "The wife does not show affection to her husband owing merely, to her love for him. She does it only due to her selfish love." This means that the wife instinctively believes that if she adores her husband, all good in this world as well as in next will accrue to her. Thus her selfishness is enlightened and is pitched high. In the same way, it is the selfishness of the individual that should be the anvil upon which the good-will of whole communities or nations will have to be beaten, fused and consolidated. Thus seen, the selfishness of man is not an obstacle but an element susceptible to orientation, in proper hands.

It is perfectly correct to premise that expediency of the modern life is likely to take us away from universal good and peace. But what was found in Hindu *Dharma* as of universal value is also likely to find favour in other countries. But, the context of application should really be productive of universal good. If, however, the context is one of parochial gains, the expedient behaviour of new country would thwart this. This expediency should not be cavailled at. The first principle thus is the awareness among all countries of the futility of war and additionally the coming together, irrespective of their own ideological affiliations, of all countries and peoples who believe in peace and peaceful means alone. This would isolate the warmongers. This

is already happening. The next step is, of course, to shed a controlling influence upon the potentiality of the warmongers. A mere subscription, in writing, to Panchasila is not enough. A collaboration in peace is to be striven for. This would be a gradual process. Modernism thus is essentially indicating the ancient Hindu Dharma, although the results are not yet spectacular. The thing to be realised at present, however, more than anything else, is that we do not have any monopoly or vested interests in our ancient heritage, and thus we should not pose as superiors in heritage to other countries. That would be a *bad* modern tradition, coming out of a *good* heritage.

Rao Bahadur S. T. Srinivasa Gopalachari: As an old man of a retiring nature, I do not feel competent enough to contribute anything material to the deliberations of the Seminar on the subject of *Modernism and our Traditional Values*. But I feel bound to say something out of deference to the wishes of our esteemed Director of the Insitute. At the outset, I am in perfect agreement with most of the remarks of the learned Lecturer. When I studied History in the B.A. Class in the Government College, Kumbakonam in 1900, my revered Professor, the late Sundararama Iyer (father of Shri K. S. Ramaswami Sastri) used to say repeatedly that unlike our Hindu ideals, the Western ideal is to increase one's wants and find means to satisfy them. This seems to be the order of the present day amongst us too. With the rapid development of Science and Technology, everywhere there appears to be a craze for making money — big money and that too in a quick way — showing respect only to the man with money and each content with the improvement of himself and his own kith and kin, without really caring for the benefit of the common man, except in a sort of patronising way and more with a view to broadcasting. In a recent issue of the *Life* Magazine, it is said that in the small state called Kuwait which was comparatively an arid desert only a few years ago — now consisting 458 thousand inhabitants, 458 are millionaires, that is to say, there is 1 millionaire in every thousand. I wonder what would happen if the other 999 also become millionaires in a few years!

This new life has set in even among some of our modern leaders. I wonder how many real Leaders we have now compared to the old type. We used to have stalwarts who not only preached but also practised what they preached, made sacrifices regardless of their own personal comforts and commanded universal respect.

As with individuals so with Nations. The struggle for supremacy, without regard to scruples or morals and with different standards for different countries is transparent and they are not ashamed about this double standard. Socially also, the aping of the Westerner in manners, customs and habits though by no means healthy is on the increase day, by day. The only remedy appears to me to be the Dharmic way of Life in peace and in war. The old *Purushārtas* of *artha* and *kama* have also to be pursued but only in the Dharmic way.

Dr. S. O. Ramakrishnan: Science was speculative till about the eighteenth century. But from then on, the achievements of science have been stupendous and practical. Pages after pages of nature's book are being laid bare and with the invention of machinery, steam-engine and electricity the abstract results of science have been applied to serve the needs of man. If the achievements of man during the last two hundred years astound us, a picture of the possibilities of the achievements of the human intellect would dumbfound us. Though the variegated influence of the scientific advancement has in a sense been beneficial to us in so far as it has dispelled many of the superstitions that we have been clinging on for years, it has to a large extent been responsible for the spread of materialistic values in our country. In other words, as a result of this modern scientific impact, the tendency to lay increasing stress on material values is fast growing amongst us. But, the values that we have been cherishing for ages are 'spiritual'. For, the values that a country cherishes are, to a great extent, determined by the philosophy that is developed there from time to time. Since philosophical tradition in India is essentially characterised by its "Inwardness", our values are said to be spiritual. So, we may address to ourselves a question here whether it is proper to take to material values *in toto*. The answer, of course, would be in the negative. Indeed, due emphasis should be given to the material values, but certainly not at the cost of spiritual values. For, both the values are equally necessary for the development of an integrated human personality.

Dr. Gopalan's paper on the traditional values of the Hindus looked at from the modern perspective, on the one hand pleads for a proper appreciation of the significance of the Hindu scheme of values and, on the other suggests that the adoption of material values to determine our code of life is to be tempered properly

by spiritual values, if we are to enjoy uninterruptedly the fruits of our scientific and technological pursuits. His specific suggestion that one of the ways in which this process of tempering can be attempted is to give a spiritual re-orientation to our material values as did the ancient Hindu philosophers, is the redeeming feature of his thesis presented this evening, and, I am sure, will be welcomed by most of us here — at least in its outlines.

S. Tirumalachariar: I am unable to see any fundamental opposition between Tradition and Modernism. They don't supplant each other but supplement each other. So it is not a question of Tradition versus Modernism but Tradition in Modernism. Then is there really no opposition between Tradition and Modernism? If so one might point to the great disparity between certain habits traditional and modern. For example the modern man does not dress as the traditional man does; the old tuft has given place to new cut of hair. Well, these are only superficial differences confined to externals. But in substance I think there is no opposition in traditional and modern values. The real tradition of the Hindu lies in the fourfold Purushārtas, Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Moksha. These concepts are very much allied to the concepts of the True, the good and the beautiful. But what has happened in contemporary life is this: the complicated exigencies of modern life have led in practice to a greater emphasis on artha, and subordinate the useful to the true and the good and the beautiful. So long as a correct attitude is maintained towards these abiding values and we regulate our lives accordingly we are safe. It does not much matter if there are even drastic changes in the externals of life. This position, I think, has been conceded in the traditional writings of our ancients. They have classified certain dharmas as alterable and certain others as unalterable. (Parivartana Dharmas and Aparivartana Dharmas). This, I think, is the basis on which the Yuga dharmas differ. The need and the legitimacy for changes in the way of life according to exigencies of particular situations is granted in our Dharmasastras. Rituals and ceremonies which held good a long time ago need not be observed in a different setting or situation. Also certain *siṣṭāchāras* which are not mentioned in the sacred texts are allowed to be practised. (*Siṣṭāchāra paramparā prāptatvāt upādeyam*). Thus some latitude has been allowed in our religious practices. The point is that such latitude should not contravene the essentials of the dharma.

C. T. K. Chari: I am grateful to the Director of the Institute of Traditional Cultures (UNESCO) in the University of Madras for inviting me to make a few comments on Dr. S. Gopalan's paper. None of my comments must be taken as detracting from the merits of the paper.

In my opinion, there is a fundamental issue to be faced in all these inquiries. Should we admit a frank plurality of world cultures? Aside from all sweeping generalizations and vehement denials, the historic and contemporary facts seem quite compatible with a plurality of interacting, but still very imperfectly inter-translatable cultures. Contacts, exchanges, and borrowals, between two distinct cultures can take place, but not without distortion or deformation of one or both cultures. Science and mathematics were not unknown to Ancient Egypt, China, India and Greece. Nevertheless, axiomatic construction in the modern mathematical sense, logics with a denumerable infinity of values, and probability techniques for controlling and predicting biological and social phenomena, have no precedents in the older cultures. Marxism is materialism in a new historical and industrial setting. Marx transformed Hegel's *Begriffsbestimmungen* "Notion-determinations" into *Existenzbestimmungen* and *Daseinformen.* The glib dismissal of all this as a "materialistic interpretation of human happiness" takes us nowhere. I am afraid that much talk about the "Indian Renaissance" misses the mark. The Renaissance in Europe (Italian *rinascimento,* French renaître rebirth) was a sustained attempt to recover the Hellenic heritage buried by layers of scholasticism. The sociologist, R. N. Saksena, has cautioned us that "the contact of Indian society with the west-unlike that of modern with medieval society, in Europe introduced a foreign element into Indian culture."

Dr. S. Gopalan's paper contains no realistic appraisal of the "foreign element" introduced into Indian culture, its dimensions, and its challenge to all the traditional values of the Hindus. The traditional values have to reckon today with the change from *Gemeinschaft* to *Gesellschaft,* the precipitation of a "mass culture" which subordinates the person completely to a role-function prescribed by an institution or structure, the growth of a money economy favouring impersonality of relationships, the use of "mass media" resting ultimately on randomness and statistical decision, the organized crime of the great cities, the task-orientation of

big business, to mention but a few preoccupations of the' "modernist". To resolve war into pugnacity, repression, and frustration, is a crude simplification which ignores numerous demographic, economic and political problems to which ancient Hindu wisdom has no simple solutions, because the conditions, and, therefore, the problems were non-existent in all the older cultures. Imposing cities like Delhi, Hampi, Conjeevaram, and Madurai grew up and flourished in medieval India, but they were not urban in the peculiar modern sense.

At the Third East-West Conference of Philosophers in 1959, Hideo Kishimoto said that the ideal for Japan was to be "modernized without being Westernized". He admitted, however, that on the side of religion, "it is still too early to make any appraisal of these changes" adding that, for Japanese religion generally, it is "fatal to become modernized". Yukawa and Nakamura made similar avowals. Neither Japan nor India, in my opinion, has produced any evidence for a convincing and complete synthesis of traditional and modern values.

Bhaghavan Das, Radhakamal Mukherjee, D. P. Mukerji R. N. Saksena, P. H. Prabhu, B. Kuppuswamy, and many others, have tried to re-interpret the pivotal Hindu concept of *Dharma* in the context of the newer empirical sociology and psychology. It should be obvious that the traditional concepts of *one* culture "re-examined" with the tools of *another* culture can yield no predictable and agreed results. V. V. Akolkar, in his *Social Psychology*, accepts a renovated *Dharma* in the sense of personal and social "integrity", but questions the metaphysico-religious postulates in which traditional *Dharma* is encased, namely *karma* and rebirth. He brands them as "residual categories" which a modern Indian social scientist cannot accept so long as there are theoretically conceivable alternatives. The social scientist with his empirical bias, we hear is reluctant to frame "hypotheses that are not necessary or not verifiable". Dr. Gopalan is ominously silent about the metaphysico-religious framework for the traditional Hindu values. Louis Renou and others have noticed the interdependence of all values and activities in the classical Hindu scheme. Is Dr. Gopalan offering us a "secularized *Dharma*" shorn of its metaphysico-religious concomitants, *karma* and rebirth? I doubt it in view of what he has said on other occasions. If, as I suspect,

he is viewing the traditional Hindu values in *total* metaphysical perspectives, I must bluntly ask whether Christians, Muslims, and Indian philosophers with no overwhelming tradionalist persuasions in a secular India, can share *all* his metaphysical presuppositions. In my Address to the recent Twelfth Madras Psychology Conference, I pointed out that Hindus cannot simply take *their* dogmas for granted, in the absence of any coercive intellectual or empirical arguments, without extending the same freedom to those of *alien* faiths. On specific issues, e.g. the *truth* of karma and reincarnation judged by *modern* tools and techniques, there must be very sharp differences of opinion even among informed scholars. I hold that the traditional Hindu adherence to *sampradāya* and *samadarśana* must be reconstructed with an eye on crucial philosophical and cultural differences. The favourite Hindu appeal to the convergence of all mystical experiences proves either too much or too little.

Miss Nanjundiah Kamala, in a Doctorate thesis submitted to the Mysore University, constructed a seven-point scale for measuring the position of an Indian in the "attitude continuum"; the seven points in the scale are "reactionary" "conservative", "conformist", "moderate", "liberal", "progressive" and "radical". I suggest that it would be worth while to rate Dr. Gopalan as well as his commentators on the scale. I am inclined to suppose (I may be mistaken) that Dr. Gopalan is a "moderate" who clings to basic Hindu values and conventions, without resisting a few necessary changes in the modern climate. I regret that, during the discussion, the "liberal", "progressive" and "radical" attitudes were not displayed to any great advantage. Without going as far as "radicalism", I prefer for myself the "progressive" attitude on Miss Kamala's scale. I would resolutely oppose any merely pious or reverential adherence to Hindu traditional values. I am prepared to admit a large number of changes in both institutions and ideas, drastic changes in old Hindu hypotheses. Whether others will do this is not for me to say. With India in a state of transition, no unanimity or uniformity of opinion can be expected from either her philosophers or her social scientists. It seems to me that the wisest policy to adopt in any "Institute of Traditonal Cultures" is to recognize considerable differences of opinion and promote complete freedom of discussion. This seems to be what the Director is doing.

Dr. N. Subrahmanian: One feels thankful to Dr. Gopalan for having summarised lucidly the currently fashionable philosophical arguments usually intended to provide a revised and modernised rehash of ancient Hindu doctrines, for the purpose of reviving an interest and faith in those doctrines and for mitigating a certain alleged debasement in modern man's attitude to "eternal verities". These exercises in covert rationalization, supposed to be justified by the need to adjust human conduct to changing circumstances, do not carry much conviction inasmuch as metaphysical theory divorced from historical experience is bound to be puerile. I shall not attempt here a criticism of the premisses or conclusions of the leader of the seminar but shall content myself with listing a few of a generalist's reactions to a specialist thesis; but before doing so I shall make it clear that in dealing with Dr. Gopalan's position I go by the synopsis of his valuable paper on Modernism and Traditional Values of the Hindus.

The occurrence of expressions like, 'the present tendency of expediency', 'the modern tendency of expediency', 'the corruption that has set in the morale of the common man' etc., seem to suggest (1) that there is a progressive deterioration in human behaviour a notion that well agrees with the Hindu concept of an evolving *Kali* age but not so well with the idea of a linear progress towards an ideal goal, (2) that in the past ages anything but expediency guided human behaviour, and (3) that it is only the common man who is corrupt now. All these assumptions—which is all what they are at best—seem to lack historical proof. Whatever the ancients might have prescribed—even now many worthies constantly remind us of these prescriptions—the so called common man lived a life very similar to what he now leads. War, expediency and cynical *Chāṇakyam* were not known to the ancients. And the gulf between practice and precept has always been equally wide; though, of course, the vastly increased scope for material comfort draws him away from the philosophy appropriate to a simple, tribal, rural life.

Dr. Gopalan speaks of the need for a reinterpretation of ancient doctrines to suit modern times. It would be more straightforward to assert the futility of the ancient doctrines *vis-a-vis* the modern age and proceed to lay down a new ethic. But it seems the need to hang on to those dogmas is an inherent predicament in the Hindu situation; the *Mīmāmsa* has laid down the precedent for providing techniques of interpretation of dubious texts.

It is stated that the materialist interpretation of human happiness—one does not know if it includes the utilitarian definition—has led to "finding fulfilment of unbridled desires and indulgence in instinctive cravings." This seems to be an over-simplification of a prejudice. Can it be contended that the materialist interpretation naturally inhibits the "fulfilment of bridled desires and indulgence in cultured and rational cravings?" I am afraid it is too naïve to relate the two as cause and effect.

It is also said that the Hindu philosopher's "prescription of values for the individuals and for society for the most part overlapped." It must however be borne in mind that the attitude of a few 'dominant' individuals is what is often spoken of as the attitude of society; these few need not and often do not represent the average in the society; any one individual *can* at any time be at variance with society in the determination of values. So the overlapping of these prescriptions overlooks this basic difficulty. But I know my reaction is relevant only to a free society. It is however breathtaking to be told that the "universe of discourse of Dharma is the free will of man". Is it contended seriously that the Dharma in the Hindu context is the result of the operation of free will and not the essence of revealed values?

The definition of *moksha* given by Dr. Gopalan as a concept of human perfection from which can stem 'dynamic internationalism etc., seems to be strained and far from the intentions of the authors of the original texts dealing with the *Purushārthas*. It is obvious that *moksha* transcends the political and social strata of *artha*. To make them coalesce is to distort tradition as well as modernity. Basically, I seriously doubt if we are entitled at all to change the definitions of such terms as *moksha*, etc., to suit a new social purpose and still claim to speak on behalf of tradition. Are we right in speaking about our traditional notions of internationalism being peace-oriented when it is also known that the ancient Hindu rulers' goal was to achieve imperial fame, perform the Aśvamedha (aggression) and the Rājasūya (imperialism) and establish one's own military supremacy over others? The concept of peace and the expression Panchashila belong rather to the realm of Buddhist doctrine and parlance than to Hindu ideals. After all most of the components of the Hindu dharmaic function are surds.

Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri: The title of the seminar has come in for some adverse comment and it was said that there is no such distinction between tradition and modernism as is postulated in it; but this, I think is going too far. Though we may not be able to define modernism and tradition in set terms of a generally acceptable and distinct character, we all know what the terms roughly represent and experience no difficulty in making use of them in suitable contexts. The conflict between existing traditional habits and beliefs and the change to new ones is not confined to India or only to the present; it is more or less universal in time and space. Nearly 1500 years ago Kalidasa said that not all that is old is good and not all that is new is negligible.

In the case of India we can identify clearly old values and the new ones that have come to us recently mainly from the west. Caste, family and Kinship, the village community aiming at the utmost possible self sufficiency, the importance of the group social or territorial, the limitation of the states role to one of keeping the ring, so to say, for the various autonomous groups to function without let or hindrance, the dominance of dharma with the emphasis on duties and obligations and an essentially religious outlook on life are among the chief characteristics of tradition. On the other hand, individualism, a secular outlook, ideal of equality, an emphasis on material well being and a rising standard of life, the great role of science and technology, a rationalistic outlook, centralized administration and a stress on the rights of individuals are among the modern characteristics first developed generally in the west and now increasingly adopted by us. It has been said that the ideal of a welfare state was not unknown in ancient India and the Rāmāyaṇa and Kālidasa have been quoted in support of this view; but there is a great difference between the King's general concern in the welfare of his subjects of the olden times, 'Rāmarājya' as it has been called, and the modern ideal of socialist patterns of State which is now the accepted goal of India and most other countries.

The main question is how to reconcile the old and the new in an old country with a long and continuous history like India. It is often said: Keep all that is best in the old and integrate it with the new; this is more easily said than done. Actually what we find is that they very often are found together—in a sort of coexistence peaceful or otherwise, and at different levels and

among different sections of the people and localities. Some of the best among us when we take ill not only take medicines from a doctor, but offer worship in temples and consult an astrologer also at times. Some years ago when I was in Japan I saw that the simple old style inns continued to exist side by side with the most uptodate modern hotels with all fittings, gadgets and conveniences. And the well-to-do Japanese maintained each of the two houses and establishments one in the old Japanese style for the reception of native guests, and the other in westernized style for European or Europeanised guests. The problems we face everywhere are difficult and the solutions are often empirical and *ad hoc*. We seem to be still far from an organic and systematic integration; time, patience and creative thought spread over a long period are necessary to evolve a new order.

I shall conclude by renewed thanks to the leader of the seminar and the many participants.

MUSEUMS IN THE MODERN WORLD

By

Dr. S. T. Satyamurti,

Director, Government Museum, Madras

(Mr. S. T. Satyamurti, Director of Museum, Government Museum, Madras was a participant in the international seminar on the Development of Museums which Unesco organised at the National Museum, New Delhi from January 30 to February 28, 1966. He wrote an article on the proceedings of the seminar to the *Hindu Weekly* Magazine, 10-4-1966 under the title Museums in the Modern World which is reproduced here.—*Ed.*).

In recent years there has been a refreshing acceleration in the tempo of the museum movement everywhere, and museums and their activities, particularly in the field of their educational functions, have witnessed a phenomenal development in several countries throughout the world. The value of the museums services to the community is being increasingly appreciated, and UNESCO, as the foremost international organisation which is directly concerned with the promotion of museums, monuments and other cultural activities, has therefore been, quite appropriately, encouraging the development of museums in several ways, especially in the underdeveloped countries in the recent past.

One of the most concrete and practical ways in which UNESCO has been promoting the museum movement is by sponsoring a series of international and regional seminars on the educational role of museums. The first of these seminars was held in Brooklyn, New York, in 1952, and later, in 1954, a similar seminar was held in Athens, Greece; again, in 1960, a third UNESCO seminar on Museums was held in Tokyo, Japan. Participants at these international seminars, who were mostly museum directors and curators hailing from different countries and with varied backgrounds, studied and discussed recent trends in museum activities and educational programmes, and these seminars thus proved extremely valuable as a forum for the mutual exchange of ideas among museologists and experts in the different aspects of museum work.

This year, India has been fortunate enough to be chosen as the venue of a similar international seminar. The UNESCO organised this Regional Seminar on the Development of Museums at the National Museum, New Delhi, from January 30 to February 28, 1966, especially to discuss museum problems pertaining to the South-East Asian countries, and I had the privilege of serving as one of the three participants from India who attended this seminar. Besides several participants who were deputed to this seminar from museums in Ceylon, Nepal, Malaya, Borneo, Thailand, Indonesia, Mongolia, China and Japan, a few international experts, specialising in different fields of museology such as conservation, education, decorative arts, etc. a representative of the UNESCO and the Director of the International Council of Museums (ICOM) also attended and participated in the seminar.

Mr. Robert Griffing, Curatorial Consultant to the Honolulu Academy of Arts, Hawaii, as Director of the Seminar, was able to steer the deliberations of the seminar with great enthusiasm and an abundant sense of humour. The advice and guidance of these experts were particularly helpful to the participants from the museums of the Asian countries. A number of directors and curators of other museums, especially from India, also attended the seminar as Observers.

Working Sessions

The seminar, which was formally inaugurated by Mr. Prem Kirpal, Educational Advisor and Secretary to the Government of India, consisted mostly of working sessions held at the National Museum, New Delhi, punctuated at frequent intervals by extremely educative and instructive study trips to various museums and archaeological sites and monuments. The working sessions were devoted almost entirely to discussions on problems relating to the development of museums in the South-East Asian countries. Problems pertaining to museum buildings, their architecture, lighting, ventilation and interior designing, collections of museums and their storage, display and installation, ways and means of making the museum collections cater to the specific needs of the community, the museum's responsibility in education and research, problem of conservation of museum objects, the role of the specialized museums, the feasibility of setting up more Science museums in the developing countries, regional and international co-operation

between museums and the training of museum personnel were extensively discussed.

The Director of the seminar and the experts from the European countries who ably initiated and guided the discussions were able to throw a flood of light on the multifarious problems of the museologist, and this considerably helped the participating members from the developing South-East Asian countries in properly understanding the current trends in museum functions and the most practical approach to these problems. These discussions indeed proved extremely fruitful, since a number of practical recommendations eventually emerged out of them.

The following is a brief summary of some of the more important recommendations made at this Seminar:

1. Systems for the protection of cultural and scientific property may be formulated and made effective in countries where such systems are not presently in existence.

2. Due attention should be paid to the phenomena of the present as well as the past., both artistic and scientific by the museums of each country for the purpose of collecting, exhibition, research and education, including the promotion of higher standards of industrial design.

3. Due consideration may be paid by the countries of Asia to the importance of the conservation of nature.

4. Museums should co-operate in programmes of exchange of objects on the extra-national as well as on the intra-national level.

5. Central Laboratories for he Conservation of museum object may be established in each country. (India already has well established Conservation Laboratories at the National Museum, New Delhi, at the Madras Government Museum and one or two other museums).

6. Architects charged with the responsibility of designing new museum buildings may be provided with an opportunity of travelling abroad and studying museum architecture in advanced countries.

7. National associations of museums may be organised in those countries in which they do not at present exist. (In India

there is already a National Association of Museums functioning, namely, the Museums Association of India).

8. Within each country a working party may be established to work out educational programmes of museums in consultation with schools, colleges and universities.

9. More science museums may be established in the developing. countries. (It should be noted that apart from India and Japan, few countries in South-East Asia have science museums).

10. A Regional Training Centre for Asia and the Pacific especially for training in methods pertaining to natural history and science museums may be established in Tokyo. This was already recommended at the Tokyo Seminar held in 1960.

11. A Regional Training Centre on the conservation of museum objects may be established in the National Museum, New Delhi, and this will serve as an adjunct to the Rome Centre, Other large museum conservation laboratories such as the one at the Madras Museum will function as zonal centres.

12. A Regional Centre of the International Council of Museums (ICOM) may be established in Asia as a pilot project; this Centre would concern itself with the co-ordination of training facilities, the organisation of periodic meetings and other related activities.

Besides the actual working sessions, talks, discussions, slide shows and film shows on museum subjects, the programme of the seminar also included demonstrations in the galleries of the National Museum, Crafts Museum, Tibet Museum, Nehru Memorial Museum, National Children's Museum, the National Gallery of Modern Art,—all in New Delhi—and in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, and visits and study trips to various other museums, monuments, forts and palaces throughout North India. The study trips organised by this seminar included visits to the Red Fort, Delhi, Akbar's Tomb, Sikandra, Fatehpur-Sikri, Agra Fort and Taj Mahal, the City Museum and the Palace Museum at Jaipur, Bharatpur, the 18th Century furnished palace at Deeg, Rajasthan, the Bharat Kala Bhavan of the Banaras Hindu University and the Ramnagar Palace Museum at Banaras, Saranath and its site Museum, the Sanchi Stupa and the site Museum at Sanchi, Aurangabad, Ajanta, Ellora and Elephanta. These study trips provided a series of extremely educative and exciting ex-

periences both to the participants from the neighbouring Asian countries and to the European experts and served as pleasant and refreshing interludes in between the spells of serious work sessions.

Some of the museums visited during these study trips were unique and constituted examples of certain specialised types which can be seen nowhere else in India. The Amber Palace near Jaipur in Rajasthan State, for instance, is a noteworthy monument visited by the members of this Seminar. This ancient Palace, begun by Man Sing I (1600) and completed by Jai Singh II was the home of the Maharaja, his family and court, before the founding of Jaipur. It constitutes a "period", and in some respects it is a history type of museums as a monument of its time, still with its typical architecture and interior ornament of the period. The Maharajah of Jaipur's Museums, housed in several palatial buildings in the City Palace at Jaipur, perhaps contain the richest collection of textiles and costumes in India, including embroideries, brocades, chikan, jewelled costumes, carpets and rugs. The collection of carpets and rugs in this Museum is unique and contains examples from Jaipur, Lahore, Multan and Persia.

"Period House"

The Palace at Deeg, near Bharatpur in Rajasthan State which was also visited by the participants of this Seminar, has a distinctvie architectural style, and was of special interest to museum curators, as it represents a type of "period house" or "period room" museum—a type which is very rare in India—in which the various apartments are furnished with their actual original furniture as they were in the olden days. It is actually a group of palaces, built by Suraj Mal of Bharatpur between 1725 and 1763, and was a residence of the Maharajahs of Bharatpur during the early days. It is now a protected monument of the Archaeological Survey of India.

The Sessions of this seminar at the National Museum, New Delhi, terminated on February 22, and, after an interesting tour to Sanchi, Aurangabad, Ajanta and Ellora, the seminar finally held its closing sessions at the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India in Bombay, on February 27 where the participants had the pleasure of witnessing some of the good modernised displays, especially in its natural history galleries.

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[illegible]

[illegible] Palace

The Palace at Deeg near [illegible] in Rajasthan State which was also visited by the participants of the Seminar [illegible]

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SECTION III: BIBLIOGRAPHY OF BOOKS AND ARTICLES

(*Note*: Titles of books and periodicals are in italics; under each subject and country books are listed first and then articles, all in alphabetical order).

Abbreviations

BSOAS:	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
E & WNS:	East and West — New Series
FA:	France-Asie
HWM:	Hindu Weekly Magazine
I:	Indica
IAC:	Indo-Asian Culture
JAOS:	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JASP:	Journal of the Asiastic Society of Pakistan
JIH:	Journal of Indian History
JSEAH:	Journal of South East Asian History
NUJ:	Nagpur University Journal
VIJ:	Visvesranand Indological Journal

ART

INDIA:

Agrawala, V. S.: *Studies in Indian Art* (Pub. by Vishwa-vidyalaya Prakashan, Varanasi, Rev. in *HWM*, 24-7-1966):

This fascinating book on Indian Art by Dr. V. S. Agrawala, Professor and Head of the Department of Art and Architecture, Benares Hindu University, is a collection of 45 papers the Professor had contributed to various journals, covering a wide range of subjects such as Indus Valley Art, Mauryan Art, the great stupa of Bharhut, Mathura Art, etc. Each paper embodies original interpretation of the subject, with substantial research and citations from Rig Veda, the epics, puranas and Sanskrit kavyas together with Buddhist and Jaina literature. The lucid exposition of each subject initiates the reader into the magnificence of Indian Art and the deeper meaning that it seeks to convey. As the author rightly points out, Indian art is to be studied at two different levels, viz., the external form and the inner meaning. "By looking at these two with equal insight, one may be able

to recover the true and full significance of the Indian mind as emphasised in the creations of art".

Dikshit, Dr. Moreshwar: Studies in Ancient Indian Glass-I. *NUJ*, Vol. XV No. 1, Oct. 1964, Pp. 25-33):

The earliest known variety of true glass was found at Tell Asmar in Mesopotamia in circa 2700-2600 B.C. on stratigraphical considerations. In Egypt it was used for a considerable time. At the side of Maski, famous for its Asoka edict, a few glass bangles have been unearthed. The beads and bangles, found in Harappa represent a stage of manufacture, approaching the modern glass. Recent excavaitons at Maheshwar reveal the use of glass in Maurya period. Kauṭilya refers to glass manufacture in 2 contexts and from this, we can infer that Indians were familiar with the technique of glass making.

Ishtiaq Khan, Muhammad; (Communicated by Dr. M. A. Gafur) Mathura objects in Taxila Museum; (*JASP*, Vol. XI, No. 1, April 1966, Pp. 41 to 49 with 4 plates):

Mathura, noted as a centre of Krishṇā cult, enjoyed a key geographical position as a meeting place of important commercial routes. It became the centre of artistic activity during the Maurya, Sunga and Kushāṇa periods. Scenes from the Jaina and Buddhistic legends are depicted there. The statues and reliefs and the querns found there show no indication of the Gāndhāran influence in Mathura art. But there seems to have existed a constant contract between both the centres as it is proved by the discovery of Gāndhāran art objects in Mathura. The objects of Mathura art also found their way to Taxila.

SIKKIM:

Rgyan—Drug Mchog: *Gnyis* (Published by the Namgyal Institute of Tibetology, Gangtok, Sikkim, Pp. 54 with five plates in colour and 2 in black and white. Rs. 25/- Rev. *FA*, Autumn 1965, page 133):

The book is dedicated to Pandit Nehru who opened the Institute in 1958. The crown Prince of Sikkim has written the introduction. The five colour plates of Tibetan thankas representing the Eight Masters are the heirlooms of the Namgyal family. They were painted in 17th century. The plates are followed by a descriptive note.

CULTURE

GENERAL:

Foster G. M.: *Traditional Cultures and the impact of technological change* (Harper and Brothers, New York, $ 4·75 Rev. *HWM*, 20-10-63):

The far-reaching influence of technological development and the factors which tend to arrest the pace of change in modern societies are indeed appropriate themes to reflect upon. Professor Foster, a renowned anthropologist, brings to bear on his work in this book a wealth of experience gained as a result of extensive travel and elaborate research. The book opens with the story of a monkey which tried to rescue a fish from the raging waters of great flood, but received no thanks for his 'act of mercy', because the fish felt uncomfortable out of water. Much the same might apply to the man stepped in traditional culture, if he were to be levered out of it by technological change.

The opening chapters of the book discuss many patterns of cultural change and the dynamics of such change. This is followed by a detailed description of social, cultural and psychological barriers to technological change. In a reference to India, the author makes much of the "prestige" factor as a motivating force underlying social change. It may be well to point out the society in India is not a competitive society, as it is in the United States. People have a way of accepting hardships and inconveniences. Technical aids may, however, possess an appeal when people realise that these aids make for greater ease and comfort of living.

Of special interest to field workers are the chapters on the problems of the technical expert, the conceptual context of the anthropologist, and the bearing of technical aid on social science. It is consoling to note that the author is not swept away by an enthusiasm for change, but is aware of the fact that "members of single societies, as individuals and in groups, can make choices only within certain boundaries". It is important particularly for the western-oriented thinker, to realise as Professor Foster emphasises that "it is the height of irresponsibility to lead the culturally hungry people of the newly-developing countries to believe that they have complete freedom of self-determination". What is taking place in the Congo today, affords several striking illustrations of this trenchant observation.

ASIA:

Auboyer, Jeanine: *Les Arts de l'Asie Orientale et de l'Extreme-Orient* (Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1964, P. 126. Rev. *E and W.N.S.,* Vol. 15, Nos. 3-4 (Sept.-Dec. 1965), P. 334):

This volume provides a broad and detailed survey of the arts in Eastern Asia. The subject matter is dealt with in terms of 2 major areas of cultural and artistic expansion in Asia. India and China, Cambodia, Champa, Burma, Thailand, Laos and Indonesia are included within the Indian sphere of influence while Turkestan, Tibet, Vietnam, Korea and Japan come within that of China. The book seeks "to stress the various components and original features in every single phenomenon through an analysis of those historical and religious factors that have conditioned development".

CENTRAL ASIA:

Masson, V. M.: Srednyaya Aziya i drevnij vostok: *Central Asia and the Ancient East,* (U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, Institute of Archaeology, Leningrad Section, "Nauka" Publishing House, Moscow, Leningrad, 1964, Pp. 467 with 85 illustrations. Rev. *E. and W.* N.S., Vol. 15, Nos. 3-4 (Sept.-Dec. 1965, Pp. 310-315):

The author is an acute observer of historical data. The history of South West Central Asia is derived from the excavations of the magnificent painted pottery, which gives a clue to the routes linking Central Asia with other cultural areas of Central Mediterranean. The author begins with the mesolithic and pre-pottery neolithic stages, which is an index of the evolution of culture of the ancient peoples. The entire account is enlivened by frequent ethnological parallels taken from different parts of the primitive or proto-historic world.

CEYLON:

Evers, Hans-Dieter: *Kulturwandel in Clyeon.* (Verlag August Lutzeyer, Baden-Baden, 1966, Pp. 206, Glossary, Index Rev. *JSEAH,* Vol. 7, No. 1, March 1966, Pp. 136-37):

The book deals with the process of social change in Ceylon and it is the first of a series of studies to deal with the conributions of social sciences to the understanding of the process of social change in the developing areas. The author spent one year in Ceylon to carry out field word in 1958-59. He has assimilated

enough ideas by studying similar works by American scholars. He is extremely sensitive to record the traditional values and their influence in the political evolution of Ceylon.

INDIA:

Srivatsava, G. P.: *Traditional Forms of Cooperation in India* (Indian Cooperative Union, New Delhi, Rs. 7.50, Rev. *HWM,* 13-10-64):

The Indian Co-operative Union has done well in publishing the results of the research into the traditional forms of co-operation in India. The author has quoted authorities to prove that the co-operative way of life was universal in ancient India and that it was based on Dharma, which guided the socio-economic and political life of the community. This Dharma was codified according to the nature and needs of each group, such as Kula Dharma among kingsmen, Grama Dharma for the village, Shreni Dharma for professional guilds and Jati Dharma for castes. The principle underlying the Dharma was "self-giving" rather than 'self-seeking.'

Emeneau, M. B: Toda Dream Songs: (*JAOS,* Vol. 85, No. 1, March 1965, Pp. 39-44):

During 1935-38 a corpus of 260 songs of the Todas was transcribed at dictation, the chief informants being Kenoz and Kanfisody. They are dream-songs, the singers being persons who had died just a few years before. The dead men, singing, in the dreams, rehearse the tribal activities in which they can no longer take part. The dead women's songs represent the jealousy of the new wife the widower proposes to marry. In another, the wife with only girl children laments over the intention of the husband to divorce her and marry another wife. The songs reveal "The Toda attitude to the dead, as merely Todas in another state, who, debarred from active participation in some Toda activities, yet feel Toda sentiments and express them by the Toda means for expressing sentiments".

Gorekar, N. S.: India and Persia through the Ages (*I,* Vol. 3, No. 1, March 1966, Pp. 25-36):

The author traces the cultural and commercial intercourse between India and Persia from earliest times. The ancestors of Indo-Persians lived together for sometime in the Oxus Valley with a common language, which, in course of time, split into Indic and Iranic from which Sanskrit and Persian developed. A number

of Persian words has now become part of our daily Indian speech. Throughout the history of the two countries, their interrelationship is clearly evident. The Gandharan Art and the Mughal School of painting are greatly indebted to Persian inspiration and technique. The author feels that the Persian influence on India is stronger over the northern part of India than that of India on Persia. He draws the conclusion that "the silver links with which India and Persia were attached to each other are visible" in every aspect of a developing social life.

INDONESIA:

Sarkar, Prof. Himansu Bhusan: The Cultural and Political Background of Indo-Javenese History. The Second Phase: The first fruits of the impact of Indian and Austronesian civilizations in Indonesia, *JIH,* No. 127, April 1965, pp. 87-109 (Contd. from 125 August 1964):

Concludes: "The native population came to realise in course of several centuries of contact that the foreigners represented a superior culture which did not pose any military threat to them, and they voluntarily adopted themselves accordingly. When this synthesis was achieved by the 8th century, the stage was set for ushering in the golden age of Indo-Javanese history". (p. 109).

SOUTH ASIA:

Mallowan, M. E. L.: *Early Mesopotamia and Iran.* (The Library of Early Civilizations, pp. 142. London: Thames and Hudson, 1965. Price 30 sh. Rev. *BSOAS,* Vol. XXIX, Part I, 1966, p. 194):

The book is one of a series expanding and bringing uptodate the chapters of the symposium *The Dawn of Civilization.* Architecture, art and crafts for the 'Ubaid, Urik, early dynastic and Ur III periods (i.e. C. 4000—2000 B.C.) are discussed. The author brings his own interpretation to many difficult subjects and no other book serves as so reliable and clear a guide to the relations between the two civilizations as this one.

DRAMA

INDIA:

Joga Rao, S. V.: *Āndhra Yakshagāna Vangamaya Charitra* (Andhra University, Waltair, Rs. 10/- Rev. *HWM,* 20-10-63).

Yakshaganas came to be written in profusion during the medieval period for the entertainment of the common people. Zamindars and big landholders commissioned their court poets to

write Yakshaganas. Many of these dignitaries maintained Yakshagana troupes and they performed for the delectation of their agricultural tenants during the off seasons. The Yakshagana literature grew and it constitutes one of the important branches of our cultural heritage. With the revival or interest in our culture many scholars worked in collecting Yakshaganas from different parts of South India. The texts of a few were printed. A perusal of the book under review will show the enormous wealth of Yakshagana literature. The author has patiently laboured and has produced a scholarly work. He has traced the origin and development of Yakshagana in great detail in Part I. In Part II of the book he has mentioned about 500 Yakshaganas. The present work is a big compendium. The author has travelled to many places for collecting materials for his work.

HISTORY

BURMA:

Aung, MaungHtin: *The Stricken Peacock; Anglo-Burmese Relationss* (Martinus Nijhoff. The Hague, 1965 16-25 Guilders. Rev. *JSEAH,* Vol. 7, No. 1, March 1966, pp. 131-132):

The author strongly feels that it is wrong on the part of British historians to ascribe the British annexation of Burma to the arrogance of the king of Burma. Such an one sided version is based on "False and fraudulent evidence". The reviewer D.G.E. Hall feels that the author has not made a real contribution to knowledge, in this book, for, all the information is taken from previously published books. Hence the need for a new book on Anglo-Burmese relation, based upon research into original sources. As it is, the book suffers from an excessive tendency to put the Burmans always in the right and omit evidences to the contrary.

Osborne, Milton E.: History and Kingship in Contemporary Cambodia; *JSEAH,* Vol. 7, No. 1, March 1966, pp. 1 to 14):

The author is inclined to feel that writers have failed to take account of past events of Cambodia in estimating the present political developments there. The importance of the Angkorian past is clear to a visitor to Cambodia, who sees the flag, the monuments and the decorations. "In the Central role of the monarch in Independent Cambodia, there is appeal to history....to the Cosmological concepts....which sustained the impact of Indian cul-

ture in earlier times". The author concludes that some of the westernised institutions there should not serve as an index for the sudden disappearance of traditional concepts and attitudes about leadership.

CEYLON:

Arasaratnam, S.: *Ceylon. The Modern Nations in Historical Perspective.* (Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, N. J., pp. VI, 182, Index. Price 1.95 $. Rev. *JSEAH,* Vol. 7, No. 1, March 1966—pp. 133-136):

This volume is too small to give the author a scope for a fuller analysis of a compact and readable survey of the Island's history. Yet the book gives an account of political developments from Independence to the present, with a longer review of the period from the colonization of the Island by the Sinhalese in the 5th century B.C. to the end of the colonial period in 1948. But, no attempt has been made even to give a sketchy account of the antecedents of the Island's present difficulties.

DeSilva, K. M.: *Social Policy and Missionary Organizations in Ceylon* 1840-1895: (Imperial Studies No. XXVI Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd., London, 1965, pp. VIII, 318. Appendices, Bibliography, Index 45 sh. Rev. *JSEAH*, Vol. 7, No. 1, March 1966, pp. 132-133):

The field of study of the book is limited to 15 years during which the British Colonial Government's Social Policy in Ceylon was influenced by Missionary Organizations, in respect of Labour emigration, educational policy, and connection with Buddhism. "This book is an excellent portrayal of the mechanics of pressure group activity in Mid-nineteenth century Ceylon. The author has explored the missionary archives in London, as well as the Colonial office records and provides an illuminating though, at times, tedious account, of how and why a particular policy adumbrated by the Missionaries, come to be accepted by the Colonial administrators both in Whitehall and Ceylon."

INDIA:

Aziz Dr. K. K.: *Britain and Muslim India:* (London, Heinemann, 1963, pp. IX 278, price 42 sh. Rev. *JASP,* Vol. X, No. 2. December 1965, pp. 187-189):

The author traces, in the Book, the development of Muslim Nationalism in India during 1857-1947. He maintains that the left wing in Britain was more favourable to the Congress than to the

Muslims because the Hindus accepted western principles while the Muslims continued to be orthodox. Dr. Aziz strongly feels that the Muslims are to be blamed for poor publicity work. The book is well-written.

Tarafdar; Dr. Momtazur Rahman; *Husain Shahi Bengal* (1494-1538 A.D.): (A Socio-Political Study; Asiatic Society of Pakistan publication No. 16, Dacca, 1965, pp. VIII 401; price Rs. 25.00 Rev. *JASP*, Vol. X, No. 2, December 1965, pp. 169 to 186):

It is a comprehensive study of the socio-political life in Bengal in the Hussain Shahi period (1494-1538). It is a welcome addition to the list of books making a study of a select period. It is well-planned and well-documented. The author has drawn materials from a wide range of sources. In spite of minor defects, the book adds much to the historical literature of Muslim Bengal.

Chowdhury, Abdul Momin; The Pāla Empire at the times of Mahipāla I (C 995-1043 A.D.) (*JASP*, Vol. XI No. 1, April 1966, pp. 17 to 30):

To pass through vicissitudes is a normal feature with any monarchy in India. The Pālas were no exception to the rule. The first three rulers saw a glorious reign. But from the death of Deva pāla (c 861 A.D.) till the accession of Mahipāla I (c 995 A.D.) forces of disorder set in and a period of stagnation was noticeable. The author cites the relevant sources to show that Mahipāla held suzeranity over Maghadha but not over eastern Bengal. Credit is given to King Mahipāla I for re-establishing Pāla authority over the original Kingdom.

Gokhale, B. G.: The Early-Buddhist Elite (*JIH*, No. 128, (August, 1965), pp. 391-402):

Discussions of evidence from the Thera and Theri Gāthās and their commentaries on regional distribution, social origins and reasons of conversion in the period 500-250 B.C. with particular reference to the influence of the Buddha's personality.

INDOCHINA:

Field, Michael; *The Prevailing Wind: Witness in Indo-China.* (Methuen & Co. Ltd., London, 1965, pp. 392. Index, illustrations. 42 sh. Rev. *JSEAH*, Vol. 7, 1, March 1966, pp. 147-47):

The author was the correspondent of the *London Daily Telegraph* in Indo-China during the years 1956-62. His book is the

result, partly based on personal experience, of political events in Laos, Cambodia, Thailand and Vietnam in the years following the *Geneva Conference* of 1954. Each country is dealt with separately. A valuable feature of the section on Cambodia is the profound analysis of the relations with the Chinese People's Republic. In fact, the book itself is set in the context of the resurgence of a United China. Field believes "That the mellowing effect of human nature experienced in other communist countries will work, if gradually, to moderate the scorching prevailing wind."

PAKISTAN:

Wilcox, Wayne Ayres; *Pakistan, the Consolidation of a Nation;* (New York and London. Columbia University Press, 1963, pp. IX 276; price $ 6.00. Rev. *JASP,* Vol. X, No. 2, December 1965, pp. 187-188):

The book focuses our attention on the one important aspect of political development, the task of integrating a host of native states in Pakistan. The study is very useful and well-done. The main stages in the process of integration have been well-traced by the author.

SOUTH EAST ASIA:

Bastin, John and Roolvink. R. (Ed.): *Malayan and Indonesian Studies;* (Oxford University Press, London, 1964, p. XII, 357, Index. Price 84 Sh. Rev. *JSEAH,* Vol. 7, No. 1, March 1966, pp. 138-39):

The volume contains 19 essays, contributed by scholars from six countries, to honour Sir Richard Winstedt, an expert in Malay language and customs, who gave 32 years of his life to service in Malaya. Most of the essays deal with topics on Malayan history and Literature. The topics dealt with among others, are the Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai, the Malay Annals and Modern Indonesian Poetry. The volume has been well reviewed by Brian Harrison, though it is difficult to assess the value of all the contributions:

Kelly, G. M.: The Teaching of Southeast Asian History: (*JSEAH,* Vol. 7, No. 1, March 1966, pp. 86 to 96):

The author feels that a correct approach to the History of S.E. Asia is yet to be made. He remarks Historical analysis of

S.E. Asia from the Asian side is still far too exiguous to redress the "European distortion we have been considering." The author's purpose in the analysis is to show that the European accounts have a western bias while those of the area contain significant omissions and deficiencies. The author's orbit of study relates to French Indo-China, British Malaya and Dutch East Indies. The author keenly awaits a "Growth Economics" history of S.E. Asia.

LITERATURE

INDIA:

Sastri, Pandit S. Subramanya and Iyengar, T. R. Srinivasa; (Tr.) *Saundaryalahari* (The ocean of beauty); Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras, 3rd Ed. 1965, pages XIX, 285. Price Rs. 9-70. Rev. *Brahmavidya,* Vol. XXIX, parts 1-4, 1965, pp. 280-281):

A most popular and fine poem in Sanskrit Literature, this Stotra contains a series of Mantras to be used by the Upāsaka (of Sri—Vidya). A Roman transliteration of the text, an exhaustive commentary in English and the faithful translation are very much helpful even to foreign lovers of the work. The date and authorship of the poem are also fully discussed.

Theodore, Sunderaraj, A. and Hakari, Devendra Kumar; (Tr.); *Thus Spake Baśava;* (Basava Samiti, Bangalore-9, 1965, Pages iv, 82. price Rs. 0.50. Rev. *Brahmavidya,* Vol. XXIX, parts 1-4, 1965, pp. 285):

Contains 108 select sayings of Śrī Baśava (the great saint and mystic of the 12th century) rendered into English. It is part of the 8th centenary celebrations of Śrī Baśava, proposed to be held in 1967 by the Baśava Samiti. The preface on the teachings and bibliography of Baśava along with a comparison of the sayings of saint Teresa and Tamil Śaiva saints is fairly comprehensive.

Artola, George T.; Ten Tales from The Tantrōpākhyāna; (*Brahmavidya,* Vol. XXIX, parts 1-4, 1965, pp. 30 to 73):

The tales are taken from the unique Trivandrum manuscript Tantropākhyāna described for the first time in the Adyar Library Bulletin, Vol. 21. It consists of frame stories and emboxed tales like the Pancatantra; it is doubtless a South India production. The ten tales, in Sanskrit, are edited and translated in English.

Raja, K. Kunjunni: The Nirukta vārttika of Nīlakantha; A Metrical commentary on Yāska's Nirukta; (*Brahmavidya* Vol. XXVIII, Parts 3-4, Dec. 1964, pp. 250-262):

Nīlakanta, the commentator, a native of Koṇṭayūr in Kerala was a brahmin of the Yajurveda Sāka who later took to Samnyasa under the name Padmapāda. The work is a metrical commentary on Yāska's Nirukta in Anustubh metre. Extracts from the commentary are quoted. The available mss. breaks off in the middle of 17th section of the 6th Chapter. The author of the article feels that in the light of evidence it is clear that 'This Nirukta—vārttika is identical with the work of that name from which Paramesvara quoted in his Gopalika commentary on Mandana's Sphotasiddhi".

Venkatasubbiah, A.: A Tamil Version of the Pancatantra; (*Brahmavidya*, Vol. XXIX, parts 1-4, 1965, pp. 74 to 143):

This is based on the Tamil Manuscripts on Pañcatantra found in Maharaja Serfoji Sarasvati Mahal Library at Tanjore. It is incomplete and breaks off in the middle of a story. The stories contained, in the Nandaka—Prakāṇḍa and a portion of Mandūka-Prakāṇḍa are given here in English. The Kathāmukha, found in the manuscript is also translated in English and given here.

INDONESIA:

Uhlenbeck, E. M.: *A Critical Survey of Studies on the Languages of Java and Madura* (Koninkeijk Instituut voor Taal—Land- en Volkenkunde, Bibliographical Series 7, pp. VIII, 207, 3 plates, 2 maps 'S-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1964. Guilders 16. Rev. *BSOAS*, Vol. XXIX, part I, 1966, pp. 205-06):

This latest publication of Professor Uhlenbeck has limited its scope to Java and Madura. It is limited to 3 linguistic sections. Sundanese and Madurese, being 'minor languages' have been treated exhaustively. For Javanese this was not possible though the author refers to several existing bibliographies. The author, holding the chair of Javenese in Leiden is impartial and fair to his colleagues and predecessors.

MEDICINE

INDIA:

Patel Raojibhai Manibai: *Manav Mootra* (Human Urine-an Elixir of Life, a treatise on Urine therapy for Universal health; Bharat Sevak Samaj Publications, Pankornaka, Ahmedabad 1963, pp. 365, Rs. 4-00):

This is an English translation of the book originally published in Gujarati under the title Manav Mootra (Human Urine). The

foreword to this book by Dr. Jivraj N. Mehta, former Chief Minister, Gujarat State, Ahmedabad and now High Commissioner for India at London, himself an eminent doctor observes "The belief that urine is not an excreta but is one's life water, gifted by nature for the purpose of healthy living and for use as a main therapeutic measure for almost the whole range of human diseases, including such diseases as Cancer and pulmonary tuberculosis is intriguing, interesting and fascinating. If it could be substantiated by human experiments undertaken and planned on a scientific basis, it would be a great boon to human beings, more so in the modern age of space and travel"—The author drew the inspiration for the book from a book entitled "The Water of Life" written by John W. Armstrong who claims to have been inspired by his own interpretation of biblical writing in the fifth chapter of Old Testament 'drink waters out of thine own Cistern' as equivalent to a command to drink one's own urine. The present author has sought historical evidence of health preserving properties of individual's own urine, by quotations from the Puranas, the Bible, as well as from Ayurvedic and Jain literature"....Case histories of instances of beneficial effects of the therapeutic use of one's own urine are recorded. The case records of its usefulness in pulmonary tuberculosis, bone tuberculosis, gland tuberculosis, diabetes mellitus, gangrene, cancer and other growths, retention of urine, nephrites; heart diseases uritral stenosis high blood pressure, oedema, malarial fever, filarial diseases and other fevers, coughs and colds eosinophilias, asthama, deep wounds, burns, obesity, cataract, glaucoma, menstrual disorders, pyorrhoea, hyper acidity, gastric ulcer, appendicities, colites, sprue, ascitis, gout, spondylitis, hemiplegia, eczema, leucoderma, psoriasis and leprosy and other disorders are quoted. These case reports are random samples and do not come from any definite groups of diseases in a series which could lead to any statistical analysis. It is written in a stimulating style and is fairly thought provoking to necessitate further trials planned on scientific basis, prior to partial or complete acceptance or rejection."

Vogel, Claus (Tr. and Editor): *Vāgbhaṭa's Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā.* (the first five chapters of its Tibetan version, edited and rendered into English along with the original Sanskrit; Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH, Vol. XXIX, parts 1-4, 1965, pp. 275-279):

This work is mainly concerned with establishing and interpreting the Tibetan version of the work. Only the first 5 chap-

ters, out of 120, have been done here. The introduction, in 43 pages describes the date and life of Vagbhata. The volume ends with a full bibliography and two appendices. It has been well printed, with faultless diacritical marks.

MUSIC

VIETNAM:

Khe, Tran. Van; *La musique vietnamienne traditionelle* (Paris Presses Universitaires de France, 1962, pp. 384. Rev. *E and W* N.S. Vol. 15, Nos. 3-4, Sept.-Dec. 1965, pp. 343-44):

The author reconstructs very clearly the historical periods in which the evolution of Vietnamese music takes place and examines and describes the ancient musical instruments (interesting among them the "Syrinx of Pan") and those which followed them". A chronological picture of the history of the music of Vietnam completes the volume. The work is fundamental by nature as it describes the musical tradition of Vietnam and that of the Far East.

PAINTING

INDIA:

Kapur, Geeta: Some characteristic attitudes in contemporary Indian Painting: (*IAC*, Vol. 15, No. 2, April 1966, pp. 145 to 154):

The author studies the major distinctions between the abstract and the figurative paintings. He cites examples of such art in Bengal from those drawings by eminent artists like Krishna Khanna, Amba Das, Mohan Samant and others. Kapur feels that the abstract painting "must have an idea taking off from intellectual, emotional, aesthetic, stimuli and embodied in pictorially appropriate space and form." The purpose of this article is to discover latent attitudes in the Indian Art scene and articulate them with their major issues and implications.

PHILOSOPHY

INDIA:

Krishnamacharya, V. (ed.): *The Sārīrakārtha—Saṃskṣepa* of Rāghavācārya *Brahmavidya,* Vol. XVIII, Parts, 3 and 4 Dec. 1964, pp. 265-276):

The book, published for the first time, is a brief meterical work in 114 Anustubh verses giving clearly the main principle

of the Visiṣtādvaita school of Vedānta. Details about the author are unknown. The book is based on a palm leaf manuscript in grantha script in the Adyar Library. The original text is reproduced here in Devanagari characters.

Kunhan Raja, Dr. C.: *The Sānkhya Kārika of Īśvara Krisna* with translation, exposition, and notes in English. (V. V. Research Institute, Hoshiapur, Punjab, 1963. Page XVII, 193. Price Rs. 10/-. *Brahmavidya,* Vol. XXVIII. Parts, 3 and 4, Dec. 1964, pp. 281-82):

The present volume by C. Kunhan Raja, posthumously published, contains a clear exposition and critical notes on the text of the Kārika. The introduction is learned and informative, and deals with the minute points of almost all the Darsanas. The book is a scholarly production and deserves a careful study.

Potter, Karl, H.: *Presuppositions of India's Philosophies:* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J. Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1963. pp xii + 276 Rev. *E.* & *W.*, NS. Vol. 15, Nos. 3-4. Septr.-Dec. 1965, pp. 380-81):

The author begins by drawing a distinction between Dharma and Mokṣa which western philosophers treat under logical terms. Potter clarifies the terms systematically to identify in them, what he calls *Presuppositions.* He also analyses the reviews of Śrī Rāmānuja and Īswara Krishṇa in the matter of the real concept of liberation. Potter's work is very useful in the sense that it aids in clarifying the category to which the problem of freedom, and the relationship of this problem to the fundamentals of Indian metaphysics, really belong.

Ramakrishna Rao, K. B.: *The Buddhacarita and the Sāṃkhya of Arāḍa Kālama:* (*Brahmavidya,* Vol. XXVIII, Parts 3 and 4, Dec. 1964, pp. 231 to 241):

The author feels that sage Arāda Kālama's exposition in Buddhacarita has a closer affinity of conception and thinking to the ancient Epic schools of Sāmkhya and Yōga than to Īswara Krishṇa's Sāṃkhya Kārika. A comparison of the philosophy of Arāḍa and Caraka is given in respect of the concept of Kshetra, Kshetragña, mōksha and Samsāra. The implication of Arāda's philosophy are summarised.

RELIGION

INDIA:

Wadiyar, H. H. Śrī Jaya Chamaraja: *Religion and Man;* (Orient Longmans, Madras, 1965. Pages X 40. Price Rs. 3/-. Rev. *Brahmavidya,* Vol. XXIX, parts 1-4, pages, 290):

A well produced booklet, consisting of two lectures delivered under the Ranade Foundation at the Karnataka University, Dharwar in 1961. The first lecture is entitled "Roots of Religion in Vedic Thoughts" and the second is on "Religion and the values of human life." The author maintains that Hinduism "is not based on mere dogma but on reason" and it is not polytheistic.

Barua, P. R.: Sākka in Pāli Literature; (*JASP,* Vol. XI, No. 1, April, 1966, pp. 1 to 16):

The author outlines the Buddhistic legends connected with Sākka (Sans. Sakra). The legends say that Sakra and even Brahma are inferior not only to the Buddha but also to a Bikku because they have attained Arhatship while Sakra (Indra) and Brahma are not free from lust, hatred and illusion. The Sakka-Samyutta of the Samutta-Nikāya contains a number of legendary stories about Indra, the king of Gods in Tāvatimsa heaven. Indra is afraid of meeting the Buddha and so sends one of his Gandharvas to befriend him, when he is in a favourable mood of mind.

Barua, R. B.: The Pabbajjā and Upasampadā Ceremony in Buddhism; (*JASP,* Vol. X, No. 2, December 1965, pp. 49-62):

Details extensively the ceremories connected with the initiation of a monk, described in Vinaya Pīṭaka. At first Buddha himself ordained the monks, though subsequently it was left to his devoted desciples. The rules for initiation of novices were framed including the qualification of people and punishments for mis-conduct. Upasampadā is a higher form of initiation. Both the processes end in taking refuge in the Buddha, Damma and Sangha.

Gonda, J.: 'Gifts and 'Giving' in the Rigveda'; (*VIJ,* Vol. II, Part I, March, 1964, pp. 9 to 30):

The author of the article surveys the use of dadāti and the related nouns in the several hymns of the Rigveda. Dāna is praised in the Veda and the donor and donee must be deserving individuals. The important aspect of Dāna is the essential angā attached to a Dakshīna namely Sraddāh. In the six Angas of Dāna, the emphasis is laid on Sraddhā.

Gupta, S. K.: Coconut (Tryambaka) in the Rigveda is the origin of Śiva cult; (Sodha—Barati, Vol. I, Parts I & II, December, 1965, pp. 43-60):

Several hymns and verses from Indian scriptures are quoted by the author to pull down the existing belief that Tryambaka is Rudra or Śiva and to prove that it means a coconut. Coconut has 3 eyes, the water in it is called Maruts and it has healing properties, about which a good deal is mentioned in the vedas. Hence the author's conclusion that the Rudra cult is a later development, though "it is neither non-Aryan nor pre-vedic. It is earlier than Mahenjo Daro, which cannot be pre-vedic."

Mahalingam, T. V.: Hayagrīva — The Concept and Cult; (*Brahmavidya*, Vol. XXIX, Parts 1-4, pp. 188 to 199):

Describes one god — concept, an incarnation of Viṣṇu, called Hayagriva. It is conceived of as the reciter of the Vedas and as a presiding deity of knowledge and wisdom. "A speciality of the concept and cult of Hayagrīva is its acceptance by the Buddhists in India and its migration to such distant lands as China and Japan." The article contains two illustrations of the icons in the Tiruvendipuram temple (S. Arcot Dist).

Sharma, G. N.: Śaivism in Mediaeval Rajasthan; (*Brahmavidya*, Vol. XXVIII, Parts 3 and 4, December, 1964, pp. 221 to 229):

Śiva named variously in the inscriptions at Acaleśvara, Prabhu, Deva, Bhavānīpati, Ekalinga, Pinākin, Śaṃbhu and Svayaṃbhu was considered the highest God of all the deities in Rajasthan. Lakulisa and Nath sects of the cult were fairly popular. The other sects, Saṃnyāsins, Khākis, Siddhas and Nāgas had their monasteries in Jodhpur, Udaipur, Bikaner, Jaipur and Kotah. Even the names of the teachers of those sects have been noted in the Archival records. Temples were either newly built or repaired. Most of them contained a Linga, some Chathurmukha Linga. Often Pārvatī and a Trident are found by the side of the God.

INDONESIA:

Hooykaas, C.: *Āgama tīrtha; five studies in Hindu Balinese religion.* (Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks, Deel LXX, No. 4, pp. 253, 23 plates 5 maps. Amsterdam; N. V. Noord—Hollandsche Uitgevers Maatschappij, 1964. Guilders. 35 Rev. *BSOAS*, Vol. XXIX, Part I, p. 206):

A most illuminating book on the subject; Hindu religion and Śaiva Literature in Bali and Java. The author has drawn extensive materials from unpublished manuscripts and from Dutch and Indonesian sources. The materials, very well illustrated with photographs are studied under 5 headings; (a) cult of Sarasvatī, (b) Yamarājastava, Āsanapūja, (d) Śivalinga and (e) Śivarātri. The publication is very helpful for the reconstruction of the role and development of Śaivism in the culture of Indonesia.

TIBET:

Banerjee, Anukul Chandra; Expansion of Buddhism in Tibet; (*JASP*, Vol. X, No. 2, December 1965, pp. 17-28):

Traces the beginnings of Buddhist missionary activities in Tibet from 7th century A.D. when the largest contribution in respect of religion, literature and art was made by India. The then ruler of Tibet was King Naradeva, more prominently known as Sron-btsan-sgam-po, due to his meritorious deeds. He had works in Sanskrit translated into Tibetan. Big monasteries, shrines and a few statues of Buddha were set up. The part played by subsequent celebrities like Padmasambhava and Buston is fully outlined. The Lamist order sprang up there to teach discipline and corporate life.

SECTION VI: ARTS AND CRAFTS

NEW HANDICRAFT IS BORN

Kokeshi is a Japanese word meaning a doll made of turned wood having a moving head. This is a very popular item of toy in Japan. When I made one in India with Indian character I least expected that an entirely new handicraft would be born in this field. It was indeed a pleasant surprise to me when I saw our artists coming out with their inherent talents and original ideas in producing innumerable number of wooden-toys.

While I was the Director in charge of the Bangalore Design Centre under the All-India Handicrafts Board, some years ago, I had hinted at the immense possibilities of developing a new craft viz., 'Indian Kokeshis" both for the internal market and also as foreign exchange earners. It is possible to develop quite a number of interesting and typical Indian characteristics in these Kokeshis. The production of these kindled the minds of the Indian artists. Consequently a host of such dolls depicting various interesting Indian characters came into existence such as Brahmin couple, shy sisters, snake-charmer, kathakali-dancer, brother-sister, etc., etc. These dolls made a fascinating show in the counters of handicraft emporium.

The creators of some of these new designs are very simple and unassuming sort of artists quietly working in their small homes. One will be amazed to see them working with such modesty and yet their creation is something wonderful. Outstanding amongst them are Sarvashri Natarajan, Somasundaram, Dube, working as design artists in the Bangalore Design Centre and Krishna Murthy etc. who have established their own workshop. With them more team workers have appeared in the field and it is a pride to see a new handicraft created in our country providing work for so many of our young men and women. There are as many as six units busily engaged in this work to meet the increasing demand for Indian Kokeshis.

Some of my Japanese friends had an occasion to see these and being fascinated with the unique features of these dolls have

been sending gift-packets to Japan. The Mysore Government Arts and Crafts Emporium has been having a good export business of these dolls to the tune of about Rs. 1,000/- per month. The day may not be far off to see such dolls catching the world market and enabling many more craftsmen engaged in this trade with a fairly good margin of profit besides having an industry of their own.

(P. Hariharan in *HWM*, dated 20-10-63).

DOLLS AND TOYS

Marco Polo, the Italian merchant who travelled to China in the latter part of the 13th century and held office under Kublai Khan became famous not so much for his achievements in China as for the account of his travels which he wrote after his return to Europe, and which being widely read, stirred the imagination of Western people. Mention has been made in his account of the creative genius of Indian craftsmen in the following words: "Whether it is sculpture, painting or any other creative art, the Indian skill to create, if not life itself, the likeness of life, is remarkable and is something which must be seen to be believed."

The dolls elegantly arranged on the Navarathri Kolu (stands) in South Indian homes are a beautiful sight. Be it the mythological Dashavathar or Sankar Parvathi or the latter-day Kabir with his beard and matted locks working on his loom, or the modern figures like the Japanese Geisha or the soldier with his cigarette glowing crimson, the images incorporate superb craftsmanship coming down the ages. The festival of dolls has helped to sustain the amazing skill at clay doll making in South India, notably Tamil Nad.

Recently, attempts have been made to put this industry on an organised footing. A co-operative cottage industrial society has been started to give continuous employment to the artisans throughout the year. The Madras Clay and Paper Toys Manufacturing Co-operative Cottage Industrial Society, perhaps the only one in the State, has 50 members who produce clay or paper dolls in their own home and deliver them to the society for sale. The society helps them in procuring the raw materials (clay, paper mache, paints, etc.). The craftsmen belong to the community of potters and reside and work in Kosapet near Perambur, where the society also has its premises. The value of annual produc-

tion in this industry is said to be around Rs. 2 lakhs and the society claims to handle a fourth of it.

The society's shelves are full of toys to meet the needs of the *kolu*. There is constant shift to new designs. There are doll sets depicting the entire South Indian culture and community life. This year, they have attempted reproduction in clay of whole stories from the famous animal fables for which India has been noted.

Apart from the Navarathri dolls, a beginning has been made in the production of toys to meet the general tastes of the people. Figures for wall and drawing room decoration, utility articles like flower vases, etc., are becoming popular.

In a typical home workshop, as many as 20 members of one family are seen working to produce a variety of toys and dolls. They use plaster moulds on the outside and shape the inside with very great skill by hand on tools. The next stage is slow and delicate and involves drying in the kiln for a week. The quality of the finish is astonishing.

The President of the Society, Mr. Ayya Subramania Mudaliar, said that the Madras Government had selected this society for making it a model co-operative under a scheme sponsored by the All-India Handicraft Board for developing the doll and toy making industry on sound lines and "for infusing new thinking and dynamism in understanding production and marketing products both at home and abroad."

The Board's design centres and art schools will furnish designs suited to the local characteristics and culture of the people. Already the society has received enquiries — in fact orders — Malaysia for some 10,000 clay pieces of the bust of Tunku Abdul Rahman.

(*HWM*. dated 21-10-63).

SCULPTURAL IDIOMS IN KERALA

The dictionary meaning of sculpture is carved work or engraving. In this broad sense, it includes even the rude implements of stone chipped and shaped by man for his livelihood. The Indian sub-continent has produced vast quantities of sculptural treasure from third century B.C. to 19th century A.D., though in States

like Kerala they are available only from the seventh to 19th century, as the earlier specimens are believed to have been carved in perishable materials like wood and clay.

Recently terracotta figurines of men, torsos of women and horns of animals were discovered from Kodamad, (in Kunnathunad taluk, Ernakulam district) in close association with megalithic potsherds datable from the third century B.C. to the first century A.D.

The art of sculpture is as old as architecture, and it has all along been a handmaid of architecture. Sculpture is an excellent device to embellish architectural media like the "sanctum sanctorum," "sikhara," "mandapa" etc., and serves as a necessary stimulus to the creative urge of the artists in the representation of forms of Gods and Goddesses in different poses in the spread and dissemination of religious thoughts and ideas.

Kerala sculpture did not evolve a distinct school of its own, though, throughout the centuries of its development, it maintained its individuality within the framework of other South Indian schools like the Pallava, Chola, and Chalukya. Simplicity, composure, amplitude and consistency have imprinted the stamp of Kerala on its sculptural creations. The figure of a chieftain in the Kaviyur rock-cut temple the earliest phase of Kerala sculpture, Pallava in form and shape, displays a generous spacing of lines and planes, amplitude, and calm, the distinctive traits of Kerala sculpture. In addition, the squareness of face and power in the glance of eyes are special traits in the physiognomy of the figures of Kerala sculpture. The round object in the outstretched palm with the fingers bent towards it, seen in figures of Viṣnu in his Varadaraja pose and in other figures in stone and metal discovered throughout Kerala, is an interesting local idiom which has persisted through the centuries of development.

Early Phase

The stone sculptures in the rock-cut temples of Kaviyur, Tiruvalla, Kallil, Perumbavoor, Irunilacode and Trikkur, Trichur, Kottukal, Chadayamangalam etc., and the image of Buddha in stone at Ambalapuzha, Karunagapally and Mavenikkara represent the earliest phase, seventh to ninth century A.D., of sculptural art in Kerala. The earliest Kerala sculptures are the dvarapalas at

Kaviyur, near Tiruvalla. The one to the left of the entrance to the cave recalls the similar figure in the Pallava cave at Tiruchirapalli.

Among the rock-out temples, special mention may be made of the one at Kottukai (Chadayamangalam, Kottarakkara taluk) for the rare sculpture representation of a monolithic Nandi on the ground and a monkey with a trisula, in a niche on the right side of the left cell, reminding one of the famous Nandi monkey episode in the puranas. The temple at Kallil is a Jain temple with figures of Mahavira, Parsavanath, Padmavati Devi etc., carved from a natural work.

The Buddhist figures discovered are the finest examples of eighth and ninth century sculptures in Kerala. The figure from Ambalapuzha, though it has all the characteristic features of a Buddhist monk like the "jvala," the ushnisa and traces of an upper cloth passing over the chest, is popularly known as 'Karumadikkuttan' with several traditional stories about its origin.

The sculpture of Vishnu in the Trichur Archaeology Museum, discovered recently from Karthigapally amsom (Badagara taluk, Calicut district), dated to the 10th century A.D., combines the features of different dynasties and centuries, the cylindrical kirīta of the Pallavas, the projecting elbow of the Cholas and the central tassels of the Chalukyas. The sacred thread going round the right hand in later sculptures has been postulated as a local tradition developed in Kongunad. This is not correct, as figures of the eighth, ninth and tenth centuries, in stone and bronze throughout Kerala, have been discovered with the "yajnopavita" going round the right arm. The lateral yali panels of the steps leading to the "sanctum sanctorum" of the Trikkatitanam temple (Changannasserry taluk, Kottayam district), assigned to the 11th century A.D., carry figures depicting two distinct types of ancient dances, the "kudaikkuttu" ("umbrella dance") and "kudakkuttu" ("pot dance").

The dance poses of the 12th century in the Trivikramangalam temple (Trivandrum), some of which are known as "Ardhamattall", with gyrations of the danseuse and the attendants marking time with a mridangam and a pair of cymbals and three figures of dancing women, and two mothers with babes carved on a yali panel in the form of an arch fixed to a flight of steps leading to

the central shrine, are some of the finest examples of intricate ornament found on the balustrades of the ancient temples of the State. The remarkable exuberance of the creative power of the artist may be seen from a row of bhutaganas, animals and floral scrolls from the temple at Tiruvallam, three miles south of Trivandrum. The "Ramayana" scenes in their varied representations in the temples at Chathankulangara, Chengannur, Ettumanoor, etc., suggest the tremendous imaginative talents of the Kerala artists. These carvings are the peoples' "Ramayana". Their scale is modest, but each panel is lively and authentic.

Specimens of the 14th, 15th, 16th and 17th centuries in bronze and stones have been discovered from ruined temples in Thadupuzha and Chalakudy (in Ernakulam and Trichur districts respectively). The Padmanabhaswamy temple (Trivandrum) has provided the best traditions of later sculptures of the 18th and 19th centuries. The art of sculpture in its characteristic features, had had, therefore, a continuous and steady development from the days of its origin.

Materials

Clay, wood, stone and metal are the media through which the art of sculpture has displayed many puranic and secular themes on the walls, ceilings, mandapas, pillars and inside the "sanctum sanctorum" of the temples. The puranas and agamas give minute details about the processes in the selection of suitable materials for sculpture. The casting of large-sized metal images involves heavy expenditure, and so is practised only occassionally. In metals, therefore, only images for "utsava," "snapana," and "bali" are cast and other materials are used to satisfy the craving for the religious needs of the people. 'Madhucchistavidhanam" or "cire perdue" ("lost wax") is the process adopted for casting metal images. The ancient texts deal elaborately with the preparation of images.

Elaborate details are given for the selection of the proper type of stone and wood for making images. The whole of the 19th chapter, "Silapariksa," in the third book of "Vishnudharmottaram" deals with the subject of selection of the proper stone for the image. Stones used for images should be of one colour, smooth, imbedded in earth without any grains of sand in its layers and good to look at. Tests are prescribed for selecting the sui-

table stone. Elaborate rituals are specified for entrance into the forest for selection of stone and for fashioning it in the desired shape in temples. The services, thus, of the woodcarver, the potter, the stone mason, and the metal caster were utilised to the fullest extent. In fact, divine images and their worship came to be the most potent factor and the commonest manifestation of inner religious experience, as inculcated in bhakti, in the lives of the majority of Indians.

The field of Kerala sculpture is not yet explored thoroughly and a great task awaits the student to bring to light new idioms peculiar to it to evolve and develop a separate school similar to the other South Indian schools. Let us hope that the day is not far off to reach the goal.

(N. G. Unnithan, in *Indian Express,* Vijayawada, dt. 7-8-'66).

VALAMPURI SANGU

Conch Shell, familliarly called sangu has a very high religious significance to the Hindus. Millions of these in various sizes are gathered from the coastal regions of South India. While most of them are the common left-spiralled ones, a very small proportion is of the rare right-spiralled conch shells. These "Valampuri Sangus" are considered most sacred, for, the one held by Lord Vishnu is of that type and are treasured by all temples, religious institutions and even museums.

Sangu is very prominent and indispensable mostly in Kerala and Bengal. The former Travancore and the present Kerala State emblem is a Valampuri Sangu flanked by two elephants. The personal emblem of the Maharajas of Travancore State was a Valampuri Sangu. The creator of Travancore, Maharaja Marthanda Varma adopted this as the emblem when he dedicated the land to Lord Sri Padmanabha. The rulers of this southernmost State were greatest devotees of Lord Padmanabha and added "Sri Padmanabha Dasa" before their names. They regarded Sangu as one of the most sacred items. Indian monarchs in the by-gone days heralded battles by conch blasts. In fact they maintained a team of conch blowers as part of their army. Ancient Tamil works like "Aingurunooru" proclaim the prosperity of Tamilnad by describing that some landowners used Valampuri Sangus to plough their land.

Curiously, conch shells are only found in Indian waters, abundantly in the southern side. Enthusiastic traders have tried in vain other shores and ultimately decided to import the Indian Sangu. Over three million conch shells are produced annually from the South Indian coastal areas. Nearly a million are gathered from the Ceylon coasts also. Out of these only about a dozen would turn out to be the rare Valampuri species.

Sangu forms a part of the Kerala Temple instrument, Pancha Vadyam. Long high pitched blasts indicate the climax or "kalaasam" of this harmonious combination of different percussion instruments. The daily temple rituals like Abhishekam, Nivedanam, Deeparadhana, Sribali are also timed with conch blasts. In Tamilnad most temples have conches to be used as an item for the daily pujas. In Bengal conch is an indispensable family requisite and is known during every function or event. Not only for worship but in times of trouble like a giant peal of thunder or an earth tremor, conch blasts could be heard from every Bengali house. During marriages and other functions conches are blown by women in varying pitches.

Smaller types of conch shells are used for bangles, rings, necklaces and things like that. Reasons attributed are mainly to prevent evils or as protection from "evil eye". Of late conch shells have been turned into items of luxury like lamp shades, ash trays, ink pots, candle stands and even paper weights.

Buddhists and Buddhist temples all over the world consider conches highly sacred and blow them at all important functions and during processions.

Even the smallest Valampuri Sangu would be priced in thousands and often a left spiralled one would be argued to be the other rare variety by a clever seller. The correct way of making a distinction in Sangus is to look from the top of the coil or the screw-end. The spiral in a Valampuri Sangu would be anticlockwise and the common variety would have a clockwise spiral. If the looking is done from the other end of the conch, the common variety could be argued as the uncommon one. But of course the seller would sell this one to you at a concessional price! But the easiest way of distinguishing a Valampuri Sangu is by observing a picture of Lord Vishnu. His left upper palm holds the conch with the spiral pointing upward. In such a

position the Lord could have a firm grip on the central opening or columella only in a Valampuri Sangu.

It is said that once a team of merchants from Iran visited the conch producing regions and purchased several of the rare species by paying in gold of equal weight.

Molluscs, usually with left coiled shells are found in the Pacific waters also but they do not resemble identically that of the Indian Sangu. Experts on molluscs opine that the shells of some species at the rudimentary stage twist righthanded.

Deep sea diving for conch shells and for the small quantity of pearls, that also comes in the way, is most prevalent in Tuticorin, Cape Comorin and Ramanathapuram districts for many centuries now. After they are gathered from the waters, preparation and 'turning up' of conch shells are done mainly by women. Conches intended for blowing are bored with hand drills using high speed steel drill bits, and polished with fine cut round files and buffs. There are also a few factories in Madras State which are specialising in this industry and contributing to the country's foreign exchange earnings, though in a small scale.

(N. S. Mani in *Sunday Standard*, dt. 4-9-'66).

GODS OF BRONZE AND OF BRASS

Scientists of the German Federal Laboratory for the Testing of Materials, West Berlin, are busy analyzing 500 ancient Indian bronzes for the composition of their alloys.

The icons are from India, Ceylon, Burma, Indonesia, Thailand, and some other countries influenced by Indian culture. The Director of the Department of Indian Art of the State Museum of Berlin asked the scientists to analyze the alloys, since the chemical composition of such objects will yield information on the metal technology, roads of migration, commercial relations, and the general cultural condition of ancient peoples. Similar objects from the earliest period of the history of Europe have been studied for their chemistry, but there is scarcely any comparable study of ancient Indian bronzes despite their great cultural importance. The bronze alloys are chemically analyzed on the pattern of the analysis of industrial alloys. A bit of the alloy is evaporated, usually after dissolution in an acid, in a hot flame in which the

metal vapours show their characteristic spectra. A spectrum consists of coloured lines, often very beautiful. The lines are arranged according to their wave lengths and they represent radiation emitted by excited atoms of the metal. Since the spectra of all metals present in such alloys have been known for a long time, a chemist will see from the spectrum at a glance what the components are. A quantitative analysis is also made, and metallographical studies of the connection between the chemical composition of the alloy and the manner in which it forms a patina complete the picture.

Dr. O. Werner of the Berlin laboratory reports that up to date about 100 antique and recent Indian bronze sculptures have been chemically analyzed by spectroscopy. The oldest are about 1500 years old, and the collection contains a continuous series up to modern times. Spectrographical analysis reveals that the composition of the alloys used for these figures of gods and saints has undergone considerable changes within the last thousand years. The basic material is copper. An alloy of copper with tin is called bronze, whereas an alloy of copper and zinc is known as brass. Dr. Werner found that more recent Indian bronze figures contain more than 25 per cent of zinc rather than tin, which would classify them as brass rather than bronze. Whether the scientists of the Museum will change their description of the figures accordingly is not known as yet. As will be explained later, gods made of brass are not necessarily less dignified in the Indian religion than are those made of bronze, but in the European tradition brass is in fact regarded as less noble than bronze, and historians of art will feel some disappointment at the findings of the chemists. But the spectrum tells the truth.

The more ancient objects are made of bronze with tin, while brass occurs rarely. In the course of the centuries, however, the Indians and their cultural dependants unmistakably went over to the use of the cheaper alloy, brass. Zinc-copper alloys exist in two classes. Some have only a low zinc content, while the others have 25 per cent more of zinc.

Apart from copper and tin or zinc, lead was found as the third major component of the Indian bronze figures. Older figures in particular have a fairly high content of lead. Obviously, the object of adding lead was to facilitate casting since such alloys melt more readily.

Trace elements are also found in ancient Indian bronze figures. One of them is gold. Spectroscopy reveals that most ancient Indian bronze sculptures contain 0·001 to 0·003 per cent of gold, presumably as an impurity. More recent bronze and brass figures, however, are free from gold. Now, during the Gupta period of ancient India, in the 5th century, a ritual prescription was compiled for those who made religious figures. It laid down that five metals should be preferred for the sculptures, to wit, copper, gold, siver, lead, and zinc. Tin is not included in the list though it is in modern eyes a more noble metal than zinc which ranks rather low in the hierarchy of metals. This shows that zinc was a perfectly respectable metal in the view of ancient Indian religious leaders, and that its addition would not detract from the dignity of the figures.

The scientists of Berlin found a higher content of gold, however, in a number of bronze figures, usually 0·1 to 0·2 per cent, and sometimes up to 0·6 per cent. In some cases an admixture of silver in considerable percentage was found. It seems that higher contents of the noble metals, gold and silver, were recommended for the figures of particularly venerable gods and saints, whether the reason was that metal from ores known to contain noble metals as concomitant impurities was deliberately used in such cases or whether the noble metals were added on religious grounds, if only in symbolic amounts. On the whole, the chemical studies reveal that Indian bronze-casters piously kept to their ancient religious prescripts down the centuries.

(*German News.* dt. 27-8-'66)

COLOURFUL CARPETS

Though the actual origin of carpet weaving in India is lost in the mists of time, it is recognised to be among the oldest of Indian handicrafts. This art is believed to have been introduced into India by Saracens. Yet many learned scholars refute this theory, since the methods and designs of carpet weavers in our country are so peculiarity indigenous and so distinctly recognisable from those of other countries, that this theory has now been abandoned.

However, it may be, it must be admitted, that the manufacture of carpet in India, as an indigenous industry, reached peak

stage during the reign of the Mughals. During the 16th century Akbar, the great Moghul Emperor, brought Persian weavers into this country and under his royal patronage, the industry grew and flourished at least until the reign of Shah Jahan. One of the earliest Mughal carpets, said to be of 16th century is displayed in Victoria-Albert Museum at South Kensington.

The chief carpet weaving centres in India are Srinagar, Amritsar, Hoshiarpur, Multan, Allahabad, Agra, Mirzapur in the North and Hyderabad, Warrangal, Masulipatam, Eluru, Madras, Ayyampet and Bangalore in the South.

The varieties of carpets and rugs made in India are the cotton Dari — a smooth, hard fabric usually in two or three basic colours with simple stripes running from side to side. They make most effective and cool floor covering and in finer qualities are very artistic. The long loop pile carpets, made in some remote districts, and the pile carpets which may be entirely of cotton, such as those produced in Multan district, or cotton and wool with woolen pile, of wool with silk pile and the rare ones having silk warp and fine woollen pile, occur in the best of the old Moghal examples.

Of all the carpets manufactured in India, Kashmir carpets enjoy pride of place and are increasingly in demand all over the world. Silk and pashmina are often used for producing delicate shades in the designs and the stitches used by the Persian weavers has been freely adopted to provide density to the carpets.

An offspring of pure Persian influence, the art of carpet weaving in Kashmir was originally introduced and popularised by Badshah Zain-un-Abidin, who ruled over Kashmir during the greater part of 15th century. The industry however, became almost extinct within a few decades and would have altogether disappeared had it not been for the efforts of Akhun Rehnuma, who tried to revitalise it in the early part of the 17th century.

The ancient Kashmir carpets generally had floral designs as their main motif with figures of birds, animals, fish, gardens, masques interwoven in between. Such indeed was the skill attained by carpet weavers that the designs almost looked real.

The Herat carpets originated in the strongly fortified city of Afghanistan, but it is being produced now in North Indian cities,

notably in Delhi and Agra. The earliest examples are remarkable for the boldness of the curving stems and the soft cool, harmony of the colour in which is found a good deal of a fine green and deep blue. The border consists usually of a broad band separated from the centre and edged on the outerside by one or two very narrow bands. To the artist and designer one of the most striking features of these Herat designs is the extremely skilful choice of use of outlining colours; and the appreciation of the ground and proper restraint in the quantity of the pattern, with the command of ample breadth which achieving extreme closeness of stitch.

The carpets made at Agra generally have a cotton foundation. The warp threads are prominent at the back and texture is looser than the other types. The carpets are large and generally heavy unlike those of Multan when they are moderate in size, as a rule.

The designs in Agra carpets are like those of old Mughal patterns, while in Multan rugs the designs are geometrical or floral. Animal figures like those of dogs, lions, etc., conventionalised as in embroidery may also be present. Mirzapur has always been an important centre for carpet weaving. The patterns which are usually stiff and conventional, are divided into three classes according to the character of the border known as "Hashiya barik" "Bari Hashiya" and "Sozan".

Among the carpets made in the South, the carpets from Masulipatam excell all. Masulipatam was an important centre for carpet weaving for over a century and a half and it is from here the East India Company used to ship may fine carpets to Britain and the West. Their designs were full of beautiful details and varied colours. The old designs were surrounded with a delicate outline of a tint in perfect contrasting harmony.

Some of the finest carpets of South India were produced in Eluru which is noted for its weaving tradition for centuries, the tradition of this art being passed on to their descendants by a few Persians who settled in this place centuries ago. Even today we get beautiful rugs made of quality wool, coloured with vegetable dyes. Some of the old patterns are still available, but unfortunately there is no trade demand for their qualities.

The carpets of Hyderabad and Warrangal used to be world renowned once, the weave being very fine and the colours, though

bright, were harmonious and pleasing to the eye. The silk carpets from Warrangal, a city 80 miles from Hyderabad, is so fine that the colour seemed to change according to the direction of the light falling on them.

It is said that the carpet industry in Bangalore was founded by the great Hyder Ali. Mention must also be made of woollen pile carpets of Malabar, which are the only ones available in purely Hindu design, free of all Persian, Saracenic or European influence. Though the wool is coarse (available locally) the old attractive designs, and the simplicity and felicity are shown in using the right amount of colour.

It is unfortunate that the art of carpet weaving has deteriorated today in almost all parts of the country. A few, very few of the modern carpets made in India, after the old patterns approach in quality the early ones, but as a rule the weaver of today is too timid and has not the large conception of his ancestors. His patterns lack repose even in the use of old designs and he somehow misses the spirit of the early work. Formerly, the artist strove his utmost to produce a quality piece, knowing that the payment he would obtain for his work would be according to the labour he had put in, but now his first thought is to reduce his work to the tariff charges ruling in the Indian and foreign markets, and to deliver his goods punctually to the export firms.

(Devi Krishnan, *The Hindu*, dated 19th June 1966)

ARTISTIC BIDRIWARE

India has world-wide reputation for its varied handicrafts which combine beauty with utility and reflect the creative genius of our craftsmen. That they have stood the test of time and have eventually emerged as a dynamic component in the economic regeneration and aesthetic renaissance of India is a proof of their intrinsic worth. The delicately executed Bidriware is a famous handicraft in our country and these artistic articles do not fail to attract the eye of the foreigners touring this country.

Bidar in Mysore State, an historic place with ancient tombs and imposing fortresses, is the birth place of this popular craft. Dating back to nearly 1,000 years the history of this craft is shrouded in obscurity and only glimpses of its chequered career are available.

It is said that one Abdulla-bin-Khaiser migrated to Bijapur and was the first known artisan working in the Bidri medium. Mr. E. E. Speight, the historian declares: "Historically the most we can say is that the last years of the Bahmani dynasty, that is the first decades of the 16th century, may have seen the Bidriware."

A goldsmith who had earned the confidence of Abdulla-bin-Khaiser learnt the secret of making Bidri ware from him. Thus the craft became an integral part of goldsmithy and gradually spread to a number of families. Among those notable personalities who patronised this craft were Ahmed Shah Bahmani, son of Allaudin II and Nawab Mehboob Ali Khan Bahadur, the sixth Nizam of Hyderabad.

Making the ware: The material employed is a combination of zinc and copper in the proportion of 16 to 1. The object of the small mixture of copper is to make the zinc take a better polish.

The initial process is to cast the articles to be made in the rough. This is done for the heavier objects by covering the matrix, which is of red with mixture of wax and rosin. The latter is required to harden the wax. Over this a further covering of red clay supported by stops is placed and the wax is then melted and molten metal poured in.

Smaller objects are built up somewhat differently. When the rough cast article is ready, if round, it is polished on a lathe. Later the design is drawn and cut in with a sharp pointed instrument. Pure silver in sheets or wires is then hammered into design, filed and polished. It is then cleaned with a particular earth containing saltpetre found in Bidar.

This account agrees in the main with the more detailed one of Mr. T. N. Mukharji in the 'Journal of Indian Art' for April 1885, which incorporates the researches of Captain Newhold and Dr. B. Hamilton. A much briefer account illustrated by excellent photographs of work made in Bidar, appears in the valued collection of pictures of Turkish, Arabian, Persian, Central Asian and Indian Metal objects published by the Royal Austrian Commercial Museum in Vienna in 1895.

Three kinds of workmanship are noticed in this craft on the surface of the alloy: Zarnishan—or embossed work, a low relief

which can be felt; Tahnishan—or overlay of sheet silver and Tarkashi—or inlay of wire. Tahnishan and Tarkashi are usually found together.

Bidriware is found also in Lucknow and Musheerabad. The fact that it is called Bidri shows, however, that its origin can be traced to Bidar. As per Mr. Speight the original uses of Bidri were in connection with the smoking of Huqqa, the offering of pan and supari, water drinking and ablutions. The little boxes known as Dibbi or Illaichidan which were in round, rectangular, oval and other shapes were also commonly in use. Nowadays Bidri medium is employed even in the manufacture of some musical instruments like Veena or Tambura to give them artistic touches.

It is said that the form of ware was originally evolved in Persia and Central Asia and has been modified here to suit our conditions. Although gold inlay work is now rare it has been in vogue on select pieces of Bidriware. Bidri can rank along with the carved woodworks of Mysore and Kashmir, the metal works of Madras and Benares and ivory carvings of Travancore and Vizag. Purely Moghal with a marked Central Asian influence and with an aura of Persian finesse, Bidriware is a fitting legacy to Indian handicrafts.

Since the bifurcation of the former Hyderabad State some of the artisans have come over to Hyderabad and formed themselves into co-operative societies. Efforts are being made to adapt Bidri articles to modern conditions and make them less costly and more useful. A variety of articles like buttons, brooches, cigarette boxes, flower vases and figurines are now made for an increasing clientele in India and abroad particularly in the United Kingdom, the United States of America and the Middle East.

(T. Rajagopalan in *Sunday Standard* 10-7-'66)

SECTION VII : FOLK AND OTHER ARTS

ROUND TABLE ON FOLK ARTS

In recent years there has been a widespread awakening of interest in the folk arts of the country. It has also been recognised that unless some urgent action is taken much of our rich traditional heritage in these arts will be irretrievably lost due to the rapid urbanisation and industrialisation of the rural areas. This realisation has led to varied types of activity in this field at different levels, institutional and individual.

The Sangeet Natak Akademi therefore invited a select number of scholars and field-workers in the sphere of Folk Arts—music, dance, drama and allied activities—to participate in a Round Table discussion on July 19 and 20, in order to (1) assess and critically evaluate the work done so far; (2) to discuss the policy, methods and approach in the study of folk arts; (3) to find ways and means to channelise the sporadic efforts existing at various levels and (4) to formulate guide-points for future work on systematic and scientific lines.

The response to the invitation was heartening and the following persons were present: from Delhi: Sri Anil Biswas, Prof. C. S. Pant, Sri Dinker Kaikini, Sri Inder Razdan, Sri Mohan Lal Aima, Sri Mohan Upreti, Shri N. C. Jain, Sri Narendra Sharma, Smt. Shanno Khurana, Smt. Shanta Gandhi, Smt. Sheila Vats, Dr. Shyam Parmar, Smt. Sneh Lata Sanyal, and Km. Usha Bhagat; Dr. Asutosh Bhattacharya (Calcutta); Sri Devilal Samar (Udaipur); Sri Komal Kothari (Jaipur); Smt. Seeta Devi (Hyderabad); Sri Vijaydan Detha (Barunda); Km. Durga, N. Bhagvat, (Bombay), Smt. Vasudha Mane (Panjim) besides the Vice-Chairman and senior officers of the Akademi.

On the first day both morning and afternoon sessions were devoted to the reading of Papers and the discussions that arose on them. The subjects dealt with were: "Study of Folk Arts in West Bengal" by Dr. Asutosh Bhattacharya, "Collection of Folk Songs and Their Music", by Dr. Shyam Parmar, "Adaptation of Forms and Themes," by Km. Durga N. Bhagavat, "Folk Songs: Problems of Survey, Collection, Preservation and Dissemination",

by Mohan Upreti, "Folk Songs: Their Function and Utilization," by Km. Usha Bhagat, "The Music of Kashmir" by Mohanlal Aima, "Problems of Preservation in Folklore" by Komal Kothari.

The Vice-Chairman entertianed members to lunch on the first day, and at the end of the afternoon session three films were shown to delegates in the National School of Drama auditorium. These were:

(1) Overture and Beginners, (2) Commonwealth arts Festival and (3) Piccolo Saxo and Company.

On behalf of the Akademi, a paper "Notes for a Workable Blue-Print", was presented by Shri K. S. Kothari. These notes formed the basis for the Working Session to prepare their draft resolutions on July 20. After these were discussed by the General Session the following recommendations were made by the Round Table:

"This Round Table records its appreciation of the work done during the past few decades but at the same time feels the necessity of co-ordinating effort in a nation-wide programme on more systematic lines. This Round Table, therefore, recommends that steps may be taken by the Sangeet Natak Akademi to establish, in the first instance, an Institute of Folk Arts (music, dance and drama and allied activities) recognising that any such initial project may ultimately develop into an Institute covering the entire field of Folklore.

The specific functions of the recommended Institute should be on the following lines:

(a) to act as a Central Agency for the survey, study, research and scientific, documentation of folk arts;

(b) to co-ordinate and utilise all available financial, technical, and other resources;

(c) to set up a Library and Museum of Folk Arts in so far as these pertain to the performing arts. This would also include the collection of tapes, discs, filmslides, costumes and all other relevant material;

(d) to encourage the creative use of the folk art materials by making available the research material and data in

the form of monographs, tapes, discs, films, photographs and research papers, etc.

(e) to encourage the exchange of information, ideas and technique between different regions and agencies;

(f) to carry out investigation, compilation and publication of the useful work already done in the field;

(g) to conduct short-term orientation courses for field workers with a view to improving methodology of documentation, survey etc.

(h) to compile and publish a special manual for field workers giving necessary hints for the collection and documentation of folk materials;

(i) to organise regional and national festivals; seminars and workshops; camps and exhibitions pertaining to the performing folk arts.

2. The Round Table recommends that the Sangeet Natak Akademi establish, to begin with:

(a) a Unit for planning and implementation of a few pilot projects in different regions;

(b) initiate action for the documentation of all such forms in the performing arts that are in danger of extinction;

(c) undertake the preparation, release and sale of tapes, discs, photographic albums of authentic materials;

(d) bring out a descriptive catalogue of existing music tapes and publications etc., available in the various regional languages, pertaining to the folk arts."

Members were taken to see the Museum of Folk Arts and two short films were screened, "The Folk Instruments of Rajasthan", and "Song of the Punjab". In the evening the Round Table wound up with a Reception followed by a brief recital of folk music contributed by some of the delegates. On behalf of the Akademi, the Secretary thanked delegates for having participated to make the Round Table a success.

(*Sangeet Natak Akademi Monthly News Bulletin*,
August 1966, No. 17).

A CHOREOGRAPHER'S WORKSHOP OF THE SANGEET NATAK AKADEMI

Practically all over the world today folk dances are performed not only on village greens but also on modern stages. This has obviously necessitated the introduction of some form of adaptation of these dances for the stage. Consequently when Petre Bodeut, an outstanding Rumanian choreographer, was in India recently as guest of the Government, the Sangeet Natak Akademi thought it befitting to take advantage of his visit by organising a Choreographers' Workshop in New Delhi under his direction and guidance.

Petre Bodeut, it should be recaleld, was in India in 1957, when he had come with his Ensemble of Rumanian Folk Dances. His work proved so impressive that the Government of India decided to invite him in his individual capacity to work with Indian choreographers and dancers on the lines he had done in his own country. But he could not make the trip to India till February this year. And when he came the Government first arranged to send him on a two-month tour round the country, whcih gave him the opportunity to meet many of India's leading dancers and choreographers, to visit important dance institutions and to see dance forms in their original locals. It was thus a well-informed Petre Bodeut who returned to New Delhi on May 19, to launch the Workshop that had been planned in his absence and that had been awaiting his return.

The Workshop began on May 20, and lasted till June 2, 1966. The Akademi had invited some 25 choreographers and artistes who have done work in folk dance, but of these only some were able to come: Prabhat Ganguli, Santidev Ghosh, Yogen Sunder, Debendra Shanker, Mirju Maharaj, Maya Rao, Gul Bardhan, Bhagwandas Verma, D. D. Jetley, Nancy Ferragallo, Krishnan Nambudiri, Shanta Gandhi, Mohan Upreti and Inder Razdan. The Workshop was provided with 16 dancers, recruited from the Natya Ballet Centre, New Delhi, Little Ballet Troupe, Gwalior, Indian Revival Group, Calcutta, and Bharatiya Kala Kendra, New Delhi, who as it were, furnished the raw material for the experiment. The Workshop was held in the Auditorium of the National School of Drama, in Rabindra Bhavan, and it functioned every day from 9 a.m. to 1 p.m. Apart from the participating choreographers and

dancers, a number of interested observers were also permitted to attend the workshop, and these averaged 30 per day.

The workshop was informally inaugurated on May 20. After introducing the participants to Petre Bodeut, Mohan Khokar, Special Officer for Dance at the Akademi, explained at length the plan and purpose of the workshop. The idea of the workshop, he said, was to enable Indian choreographers to learn Petre Bodeut's methodology of adapting folk dances for use on the modern stage. Later, at a Press Conference called by the Akademi the same evening, Mohan Khokar stressed the point that in view of the rapid pace of urbanisation and industrialisation in the country folk dances were in danger of facing extinction, or at any rate of suffering hybridisation and of losing their original individual character and flavour, it was therefore the moral duty of Indian chreographers, he pleaded, to try, so far as their work was concerned, to use only authentic versions of folk dances in their productions.

In the workshop, every morning Petre Bodeut first gave graded dance exercises to the dancers, for conditioning and disciplining their bodies. This was followed by a 2-hour session of choreographic work, in which first was taken a Garba-Dandia Ras dance of Gujarat and then a Chang dance of Maharashtra. The original dance patterns, movements and steps were provided by the choreographers, and with the help of the dancers Petre Bodeut showed how to edit, trim, prune, stylise and adapt these dances for the stage. Right through the work the participants had numerous questions to ask of Petre Bodeut, to which he always gave very helpful answers. As an additional experience for the participants, Peter Bodeut also taught them a Rumanian folk dance.

The latter part of each session on four days was taken up by the exhibition of films on Indian folk dance and the playing of taped Indian folk dance music. On the other days papers were read on the folk dance theme, or talks were delivered, both of which were followed by discussions pertinent to the various subjects. The topics thus covered included "some Problems Facing Indian Folk Dance Today" by Shanta Gandhi, "Expression of Joy in Folk Dance" by Mohan Khokar, "Patterns of Folk Dance for use in Choreography" by Maya Rao, "The Scope of Folk Dance in Modern Choreography" by Nancy Ferragallo, "Creative Element in Folk Dance" by Mohan Upreti and "Presentation of Folk

Dance on the Modern Stage" by Prabhat Ganguli. They no dobut offered much fresh material and also made the participants more alive to the problems facing them in their work. On the concluding day of the Discussion Sessions Petre Bodeut gave a talk on his work and experience and on the state of folk dance in his country, in the past and today. The Photo Wing of the Press Information Bureau made a fairly extensive coverage of the work and Radio Newsreel broadcast Mohan Khokar's reports on the work on three separate occasions.

On the last day of the workshop a valedictory function was arranged in the Auditorium of the National School of Drama, before an audience comprising the Press, local dancers and dance teachers and officials. On this occasion, Mohan Khokar presented a Report on the work done and formally thanked Petre Bodeut and the choreographers and dancers for their participation and contribution.

He made three specific proposals for what he called the sustenance and promotion of Indian folk dance: (1) that the Sangeet Natak Akademi, or the Government of India, move to establish a full-fledged Documentation Unit for the purpose of filming, photographing, recording and collecting full data on all forms of Indian folk, tribal and ritual dance. This Unit, he emphasised, must be manned by persons who are not only scholars with experience in field work but who also have practical dance experience; (2) that the Sangeet Natak Akademi, or the Government of India, move to found a National Folk Dance Ensemble. This could consist of 8 male and 8 female dancers plus 6 musicians and 6 vocalists—a party of 25 to 30 artistes, who would perform Indian folk and tribal dances in their authentic form, both in India and abroad; (3) that the Sangeet Natak Akademi organise, at least once a year, a Choreographers' Workshop, lasting 6 to 8 weeks and each time in a different part of the country, to which would be invited Indian choreographers who have experience in folk dance. The workshop would provide participants the opportunity to see and learn select and authentic folk and tribal dances of a region, under the guidance of local dance experts, in return for which the participants would only have to give the guarantee that they would include the dances thus learnt in their repertoire for possible use in future programmes. These proposals were all readily endorsed by the participating choreographers and dancers.

Three of the choreographers—Debendra Shanker, Nancy Ferragallo and Prabhat Ganguli, also spoke on the occasion. Petre Bodeut, thanked the Government of India for having invited him and for having given him extensive opportunity to see Indian dance forms in the various regions. India, he said, had a vast wealth of folk and tribal dance—perhaps the richest country in the world in this respect—and if these dances were properly moulded for the stage and presented abroad they would probably take the world by storm. In conclusion Shri S. N. Mozumdar, Vice-Chairman of the Akademi, expressed his satisfaction with all that had been achieved by the workshop and also welcomed the three proposals made, and gave his assurance that the Akademi would try to see how they could be implemented. The Akademi presented Peter Bodeut a set of discs on Indian folk dance music and also literature on Indian folk dance. The function concluded with a performance of the three dance items on which Peter Bodeut had worked with the participating dancers and choreographers.

(*Sangeet Natak Akademi, Monthly News Bulletin,* July '66, No. 16)

FOLK MUSIC

Folk Music owes much to the geographical traits and local culture. It is an art which has been unceasingly treated as non-academic and less disciplined in form, despite its obvious contribution to traditional music of the country. It is a living art, a perpetual phenomenon of genuine expressions in the sense that it never loses its continuity which is positively experienced in manifold forms.

The variants of regional music, which have had, at one time, a rich past, acquired later a sort of existence among people belonging to criss-cross cultures. The endurance of such styles or their fragments is but natural as the folk music represents those idioms and retains only those remnants which have close affinities with social behaviour; and the music of the idioms or the remnants is so variedly woven into the fabric of ceremonial practices and repository of old ritual that its desiccation from cultural setting remained beyond question. Therefore, a distinctive and consistent musical style lives in a culture or runs through several cultures.

Many Forms

Incidentally India has quite a good number of styles of folk music which have assumed a highly emotional attachment to the linguistically divided populace. Out of over two hundred perceptible forms one can safely quote some of the predominant styles as major patterns, so far unpolluted by mediocre and drastic influences. Their features are so chiselled that they appear more stable than that of spoken languages. Again, it is rather strikingly felt that from time to time new stanzas are composed by village musicians in their sportive moods and even traditional words of the songs are improvised by them, but they never go to the extent of drifting away from the fixed characteristics of the melodic structures. The bridle of conventions and ritualistically confirmed practices of different social strata are strongly clinched to their racial temperaments that they find it extremely hard to do so.

Three Broad Groups

On giving further thought to the subject, the folk-musical material of the country may be broadly classified into three groups; the first being the group of songs that has a close link with the classical forms of singing. The vast concourse of these songs draws their themes from mythology. Thousands of songs of this category are sung into varied complexions under devotional fervour, some of which even admit embellishments and to a small degree tanas and alaps in their stylized crudeness.

The second group may be that of countryside music. It would, inter alia, include legendary narrative like Puran Bhagat (Punjab) which is sung in mixed notes of Asavari and Mand. The other would be ceremonial songs, ballads, seasonal songs, work-songs, and the songs identified with riturals, love-longings and occupations. This category has a thick layer of complex influences. Its music as a whole survives in cross-cultural traits of social rapport. In smaller modes, its structural shades vary from caste to caste and region to region. We come across many a variant: We find here a melody area among the cattle grazers usually sung in the Heer of Punjab, or we get songs resembling Kafi or Chaiti, the calendric song of Uttar Pradesh, using unknowingly the Swaras of Kamod and Jhijhoti in chachar tal, incidentally identifying with Chachari, mentioned in the works of Bhasa and Kalidas, the folk variety of which is again traced to the Jajara compositions of Telugu. Folk tunes of Himachal Pradesh and

Jammu areas mostly fall within the segments of Pahari raga of Bilawal That. They resemble Bhupali and to a lesser degree with Durga. The *Led* of Bundelkhand takes the shade of Yaman, while Chaneni of Awadha gives us a glimpse of Pilu and Desh. The Mirja Saheb of Punjab portrays the notes of Sarang in Kaharwa Tal and another style of singing of the same evokes the melodic impressions of Tilang.

The music of this category surprised many to reveal raga tatwa. It has attracted musicologists like Alain Danielou who found Ahirs of North India using a scale with twelve semitones. Experts have clearly realized the indebtedness of this fund in respect of Tappa, Mand, Purvi and Kajari. Kafi which was originally congregational finds also an important place in North India. Some of the talented musicians have gone ahead of the confines of the rigid formulae: Bade Gulam Ali's *Kohari* in which the famous love song of Sassi-Punno is sung by he villagers residing in Sindh area. Kumar Gandharva is another well known instance whose creative urge of a classical musician has drawn inspiration from the music of the soil.

Tribal Music

The third group covers the tribal music. Unlike the first and the second categories, tribal music sounds different to those who are accustomed to hear cultivated music. But persons who understand the scope of further variations of the twelve notes into microtones can recognize the hidden properties of Adivasi songs. Experts may be amazed to see these simple and unsophisticated birds of the forests using unfamiliar notes while repeating the refrains of their songs. It reminds me of another peculiarity of harmonization. As an illustration, in Bhakhan, a popular song of the hilly tract of the North, the leader of the group keeps the base while the other members following the line provide refrain on different notes to produce harmonization. Again, in tribal music, there appears a sort of universal congeniality at certain levels. As a result, the music of the tribal or the semi-tribal songs sometimes carrys us to associate with musical phrases belonging to distant countries. On hearing some Mexican rhymes or Georgion tunes Pt. Ravi Shankar was astonished to notice a remarkable similarity with that of some folk musical rhymes of Tamilnad and Maharashtra. To Danielou the melodies of Gond and Santhal tribesmen reminded him of the musical forms found in Papua,

Africa and Central Formosa. To quote his words, he discovered 'that some ancient people of the Himalayas, the Shilpkars in particular, have kept something similar to the Vedic scale defined in ancient Shikhs which the high caste priests of Northern India seem to have forgotten'. He even met with the musical forms among the Himalayan tribes very clearly resembling those of the Amerindians. No doubt, much can be said about such congenial features, because in folk music human emotions play a vital role.

With constant exposure to urban influences, a comparatively rapid change in the folk styles seems inevitable. On the one hand this change would lead to enriching the unabated vitality of folk music. This very change, on the other hand, has brought home the urgency of the need for recording and collecting as much of the authentic folk and tribal music as can be procured. This should form a valuable basic material for classifying and standardizing some of the major forms of folk-singing. Tunes and phrases basically and vitally interwoven with the expression of elemental urges and inner emotions of the human race will survive the test of time. The rest will perish.

(Dr. Shyam Parmar in *Kurukshetra,* Feb. 1966, pp. 21-22).

TRADITIONAL MUSIC

Mr. M. Krishnan writing in the *IWI* (3rd July 1966, p. 59), observes: "The violin entered the field of Carnatic music comparatively recently, and established itself almost at once as an indispensable *kutcheri,* (concert instrument) vadyam. About that time, and for some years afterwards, I think the scope for accompaniments at vocal recitals of Carnatic music has been enlarged to accommodate innovations, for it was not only the violin, already valued in the West, that was accepted here. By a merciful dispensation of fate, the harmonium did not invade the platform of the classical *kutcheri,* but only the dramatic stage and domestic settings for the private recitals of song, and some indigenous instruments came into their own about then.

The *ghatam* (earthern pot) was one of these, and so was the *moresing* (now luckily extinct, or on the verge of extinction), and I believe the kanjira, too, has no hoary traditions behind it.

The violin is by no means the only western musical instrument that we have adopted. The clarionet, and the entire brass band, have long been patronised by Rajas and other potentates, and more recently Professor P. Sambamoorthy organised an open-air orchestra for recitals of Carnatic music.

Tyagaraja himself is said to have been influenced by the band at the royal court of Thanjavur, and some of his *kritis*, difficult to explain otherwise, are said to have been composed under the influence. However that might be, the band is now firmly established in the South, not only at municipal functions, but also at ceremonial processions and weddings. Why band music should survive at public celebrations in the South where we have that incomparable outdoor musical intsrument, the *nagaswaram*, is difficult to understand. To have band music inflicted on one, relaying carnatic tunes played with staccato ineptitude is not pleasant."

Adverting to these remarks of Mr. Krishnan, Mr. R. Menon writes in *IWI* (14-8-1966, p. 59):

"It is with dismay that one watches the present youth of the country gradually drifting into pseudo-Western customs in the name of advancement. Our films, especially in Hindi, support hybrid music and customs. Social and religious functions are graced with pop music adapted into Indian languages. The beauty of Karnatik music (or, for that matter, of any music) depends almost entirely on the use of traditional instruments. Despite all the experimental adaptations, the fact remains that a *sitar* or *tabla* is as unsuited to Karnatak renderings as a *veena* or *mridangam* is to Hindustani music. Let us hope and pray that such maestros as Chembai and Palghat Mani, Chowdiah and Alangudi are not substituted by Indian Elvis Presleys and Beatles."

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS IN PAKISTAN

The universal institution of marriage presents a wide variety of rites and customs in every society. The more primitive the people, the more exotic the customs, but even modern societies continue to observe the marriage ceremony in traditional style.

In some parts of the world women are still purchased for the purpose of marriage. Among certain African tribes a custom forbids the bride and bridegroom to have a honeymoon for forty

days after the wedding. Among people of the Chittagong Hill Tracts elopement of a girl four times with her boy friend gives him the right to claim her as his legal wife.

In Korea a custom compels the bride to keep her eyes closed on her wedding day and not to open them for two days afterwards; her eyelids are gummed together throughout this period. The Bugie in the East Indies drug the bride for three days before her wedding and the bridegroom actually receives her still unconscious.

Among Muslims, whether in Pakistan or elsewhere, a marriage is usually arranged by the parents of the boy and girl well in advance, but the couple remain strangers to each other until wedding. The betrothed couple thus await their wedding day with great excitement, having never set eyes on one another beforehand. Even correspondence between the betrothed couple is forbidden but surprisingly such marriages prove successful in most cases. Divorces are rare compared to Western countries, and are only considered in extremely serious and difficult situations.

Betrothal Negotiations

Following the betrothal ceremony, a number of rites are performed before the marriage is solemnised. Betrothal negotiations are conducted through a matchmaker, a mutual friend, or relatives of the two families. The girl's parents allow the parents of the prospective bridegroom or any of his near relatives to see the would-be bride but the young man himself is not allowed to meet her at any stage before the wedding.

In modern families the rigidity of this custom has been relaxed a little and it is often possible for the couple to meet before the betrothal ceremony.

After the terms and conditions of Mahr—a guarantee for the economic security of the wife are settled, a day is fixed for the betrothal ceremony. On that day a group of people including the bridegroom's mother or any other lady acting on his behalf, goes to the house of the bride–to–be and places a silk stole over her head and a gold ring on the second finger of her right hand. Then a similar group belonging to the bride's family goes to the house of the groom and the bride's mother puts a ring on the groom's right-hand finger.

Thus the betrothal ceremony is finalised and the occasion is celebrated by the exchange of sweets between the two families.

Wedding Preparations

The preparation for the wedding begins with both families drawing up lists of guests, arranging sweets and flowers, and making dresses, jewellery and ornaments for the bride who receives a trousseau from her mother and numerous sets of dresses and ornaments from her in-laws as well. The groom's clothes are provided by the bride's parents.

The bride's dress consists of three pieces—a Charara, shirt and a fine silk sole—all in traditional red and embroidered with gold thread or decorated with gold lace. She wears flowers and red ribbons in her hair and applies vermilion henna to the palms of her hands.

Three days before the wedding a procession arrives at the bride's house, from the bridegroom's mother, bringing a special dress and jewellery. The female members of the bride's family meet and she is given a treatment of Mendhi—a thin leaf-paste of henna applied to the palms and fingertips.

The next day the bride's mother, together with her relatives, goes to the groom's house to give him a set of clothes and his younger sister applies henna to the little finger of his right hand. Then she refuses to let go his hand until he pays her a ransom and amidst a lot of fun and brisk bargaining she finally releases his finger after extracting as large a sum as possible.

Ceremonial Bath

On the following days the wedding takes place. All members of the bridegroom's family collect at his house and after a ceremonial bath he is prepared for the wedding. His clothes are sometimes made of Zari (gold cloth), and a silk turban with gold lace is essential. He is heavily garlanded with flowers and a Sehra—gold threads woven with fresh flowers—is tied round his headgear. The Sehra actually serves as a heavy veil and hides his face from onlookers to avoid an evil eye. Then the groom is led in procession to the bride's house either on horseback or a car bedecked with flowers.

On reaching the bride's house, her father and other members of the family receive the groom and his family and after he has

been seated at a place of honour the religious rites of the marriage begin.

Religious Rites

The ceremony is conducted by a Qazi who first gets the assent of the bride before performing the Nikah (marriage). This is a simple ceremony in which the consent of both bride and groom is obtained before witnesses, and, after reading the special Nikah, the boy and girl are declared man and wife in accordance with Islamic law. Here the dowry and pocket money of the bride are also settled between the families in the presence of the Qazi and a marriage deed is drawn up to be signed by the bride and groom.

After the wedding ceremony, sweets are distributed and then comes a sumptuous entertainment. Finally the groom is led into the Zenana by two members of the bride's family, and the bridegroom meets his bride for the first time. This is the ceremony known as Arsi Mushif and usually takes place late in the evening. The heavily veiled bride, beautifully dressed, is seated on an embroidered Masnad (cushion) in the centre of the room. The bride's younger sister leads the bridegroom into the room and he sits on a cushion facing his bride. A mirror is placed between them and a coloured silk cloth is spread over them. From a copy of the Quran he reads certain verses and then looks at his wife's image reflected in the mirror, while both are still hidden beneath the silk cloth.

After he has seen his wife's face, the groom puts a ring on her first finger and removes the veil from his head and face. On a silver tray he is offered sweets which he shares with his bride.

Then comes the most moving moment of the marriage, when the bride accompanies her husband to his house. The bride's father and brothers give her away to the young man. As she is lead to the car she dissolves into tears and the musicians play sad, soft tunes. This is the moment that signifies the doubts and fears of the bride and her people who have to part with her. They are naturally sorrowful as, through their sobs and tears, they wish the newly wed couple a happy and prosperous life.

(A. B. Rajpur in *Commonwealth Today,* No. 123, Asia Edition)

A MUSICAL INSTRUMENT OF OLD KERALA

Doesn't the name have a harsh sound? It has indeed, and it is nothing but an iron rattle, producing a grating sound. The Kokkara is formed of a rectangular plate of iron, folded into a tube. The longer edges are deeply serrated and do not close fully. The tube is about nine inches long and about 1½ inches in diameter. From the centre, riveted loosely hangs an iron chain, nearly a foot long, ending in an iron spike or pin, about five inches long. The Kokkara is held horizontally, by the first link in the chain, and the iron spike struck or rubbed along the dentate edges of the iron cylinder.

How it has been contrived we do not know, but the two halves of the Kokkara give out two sounds of varying pitches. The sounds, a perfect fourth, have a samvāditva relationship.

There are two specimens of the Kokkara in the anthropology section of the Government Museum in Madras. One of them is smaller than the others.

This is used by certain native tribes of fascinating Kerala-Vedars, Kuravars and the like, but more especially by the Pulayars. The specimens in the Madras Museum have been acquired apparently from the Kanikars.

The instrument is used by sorcerers. Every ailment is attributed to a supernatural agency, which the priest professes to discover. He divines it with the sound of the Kokkars, plus incantations, etc.

When the youth desires to master the art of sorcery, he approaches a guru with an offering of coconuts, betels and some money. A feast, which all his relatives partake in, is also given. When he learns the art fully, a richer payment is made to the guru. The teacher presents him with a Kokkara and a cowry shell and he sets up in business for himself.

Patients young and old, suffering from various diseases, come to him for treatment. Fortune telling, casting out demons, rescuing pregnant women from demons, offering sacrifices, destroying enemies, detecting robbers—varied indeed are the jobs of the sorcerer. In times of general sickness the fraternity of sorcerers breaks into wild dances frightening everyone. People fear them, but honour them too.

When a sorcerer visits a sick house, a winnow with some paddy, betel leaves, areca nuts, flowers and cowry shells are brought to him. He sits facing the sun and with the winnow before him begins his prayers. So doing, he takes the shells in his hands and turns to the four directions. After noticing an omen, he sounds the Kokkara, calling upon his deities. Sometimes he dances too. The Kokkara, is played from the evening to the noon of the next day, incessantly. It would be no wonder if, his nerves unstrung by a whole day's grating of this harsh instrument, the patient confesses to being perfectly well, to prevent a repetition of the torture!

The native instruments of Kerala are of the three accepted varieties—the wind, the stringed and the percussion. The Kokkara or Kokkra may be listed under the third.

Brinda Varadarajan in *HWM*, 19–6–66.

SECTION VIII : NOTES AND NEWS

1-3-1966. A new process of archaeological research has been used successfully on the Magdalenian site of Pincevent, a sand-pit some 50 miles south-east of Paris.

The process consists of making a moulding of a complete section of the site by covering it with a thin layer of latex, reinforced with muslin and plaster. This mould is then used to produce an extremely accurate model of the excavation site before any objects have been removed from it. At Pincevent, a moulding of over 800 square feet has been made of the floor area of a large Magdalenian dwelling.

The Pincevent site, which has still to be fully explored, contains the first open-air Magdalenian dwelling discovered in western Europe. It is extremely well preserved, and will provide valuable information about the the life of the reindeer hunters who lived there some 12,000 years ago. (*Unesco Features*).

1-3-1966. A "Peace Foundation" has been created by the Servants of the People Society in India to perpetuate the memory of Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri. The Foundation will declare an annual Peace Prize of "not less than 100,000 rupees" to a person in India or elsewhere "who has contributed in a significant way to the preservation and propagation of peace." (*Unesco Features*).

2-3-1966. The Yugoslav Academy of Arts and Sciences has founded an Institute for Peace and the Philosophy of Science. The initiative for the institute came from Academician Ivan Supek, the chairman of the Yugoslav Pugwash Group, part of the international Pugwash movement of scientists who are working for the peaceful use of scientific achievements.

The institute will attempt to unify individual fields of scientific activity, with particular emphasis on the coordination of the theoretical, ethical, sociological, economic and socio-political aspects of science in contemporary society. (*Unesco Features*).

2-3.1966. The U.N. Commission on the Status of Women has just unanimously adopted a draft "Declaration of the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women". The draft is to be passed to the Economic and Social Council for submission to the U.N. General Assembly next September.

Affirming the principle that "the full and complete development of a country requires the maximum participation of its women", the preamble of the declaration states that "it is necessary to ensure the universal recognition in law and in fact of the principle of equality of men and women." The eleven articles of the declaration deal, among other matters, with the abolition of discriminatory laws, customs and practices, the education of public opinion to this end, the right to vote and be elected and the right to exercise all public functions, equal rights in the field of civil law, equality in marriage and the right of a wife to retain her nationality after mar-

riage, equal conditions of access to education, professional training and careers, the right to equal pay and social security, and finally the responsibilities of governments in promoting the observance of these principles.

The importance which the Commission on the Status of Women attaches to educational problems is underlined by the unanimous adoption of a resolution submitted by the British and French representatives, which "notes with satisfaction that the General Conference of Unesco will have before it at its fourteenth session a draft long-term programme for the advancement of women through their access to education, science and culture," and "expresses the hope that Unesco will be able to carry out this programme in collaboration with the United Nations..."

The adoption by the United Nations of such a declaration could certainly lead to number of governments modifying their laws to ensure a more genuine equality. It may be recalled that after the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights 18 years ago, several governments granted women political rights which had previously been withheld. (*Unesco Features*).

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1-4-1966. The United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the the Far East (ECAFE) meeting at New Delhi on March 30 unanimously adopted a resolution calling on governments in the area to integrate functional literacy programmes into their economic and social development plans.

The Asian continent, the resolution notes, has some 350 million illiterates over 15 years of age, and although compaigns between 1950 and 1962 reduced the percentage of illiterates from 67·71% to 53·57% their number in absolute terms increased by almost 20 million during that period.

Noting with appreciation the action taken by Unesco, the resolution recommends that functional literacy projects, linked to professional training, should accompany development programmes in all areas where there is a high illiteracy rate. In the towns, experiments of this type should constitute an integral part of plans for industrial expansion, while in the countryside, they should accompany agrarian reform and agricultural modernization programmes.

On the question of financing these projects, the ECAFE resolution proposes that resources be diverted from various ministries, local government, public and private enterprise, and from certain major development projects.

Finally, the resolution calls on ECAFE'S Executive Secretary to explore with Unesco the possibility of establishing a literacy research centre for the purpose of surveying ways and means of integrating literacy compaigns into development projects. (*Unesco Features*).

1-4-1966. Educational Broadcasting in Asia: The role of a radio and television in Asian education and development will be explored during a Bangkok meeting convened by Unesco for 16-23 May. Broadcasting executives, educators and specialists in national development will discuss all aspects of education as they pool their experience to promote intensified application of broadcasting to national needs and greater regional co-operation.

The meeting will consider:
— objectives of national policies on radio and television;
— contributions of the media to education and literacy, social and economic development;
— training of educational broadcasting personnel;
— audience relations, research and evaluation.

The following Unesco Member States have been invited; Afghanistan, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, China, India, Indonesia, Iran, Israel, Japan, Republic of Korea, Laos, Malaysia, Mongolia, Nepal, Pakistan, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Republic of Viet-Uam. (*Unesco Features*).

1-4-1966. A new discovery announced in Australia may make possible savings worth many millions of dollars annually in world cereal crops by cutting losses due to droughts.

It has been found that treatment with an organic chemical can cut water losses from crops which are threatened by severe lack of water during their growth period. The treatment, which is applied by means of a spray, costs little and the saving, in terms of harvest, is quoted as representing five or six times the cost of the spray.

The new technique has been developed by the Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organization, whose head-quarters are in Canberra. It was described recently by Dr. R. Slatyer of the C.S.I.R.O. as "the beginning of a revolution in agriculture which could affect the whole world."

The C.S.I.R.O. says the spray acts by partially closing the leaf pores by which plants lose water by evaporating. As the same pores are used for taking in carbon dioxide from the air, the spray does slightly affect growth. But the research centre has discovered that a carefully balanced dosage can be found that cuts water losses by 50% while only retarding carbondioxide metabolism by a fraction.

The C.S.I.R.O. considers that the main use of the new treatment will be in emergencies when sudden shortage of water — such as those that regularly occur in the spring in Australia — threaten cereal crops. Figures given out by the centre indicate that it should be possible to cut drought losses by as much as three quarters. This will add tens of millions of pounds annually to the value of the national wheat crop.

The C.S.I.R.O. says that research into the new treatment is continuing but the results so far obtained indicate that it can be used anywhere in the world where cereal crops are grown in a dry, Mediterranean type climate. (*Unesco Features*).

1-5-1966. Children from more than 20 countries painted pictures which were shown at an International children's art exhibition in Birmingham, England, from April 4-30. The exhibition was arranged under the "Art for World Friendship" scheme, started by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

As well as organizing exhibitions, the "Art for World Friendship" scheme sponsors the exchange of paintings between children of different nationalities. Over 15,000 children in 40 countries all over the world have so far enrolled as contributors to the scheme: they paint a picture and send it to their national liaison officer, who sends them in return a picture painted by a child of similar age but different nationality. (*Unesco Features*).

1-5-1966. The United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) has adopted a resolution urging the U.N. General Assembly in its 21st Session to designate 1967 as "International Tourism Year."

The resolution points out that such an action would improve understanding between peoples and lead to a better appreciation of the riches of the world's civilizations, while helping to boost the invisible exports of developing countries. (*Unesco Features*).

2-5-1966. Half Karachi Graduates are women: Half of the 6,050 degrees conferred by the University of Karachi this year have been obtained by women students. At present girls account for 56% of the University's undergraduates. (*Unesco Features*).

2-5-1966. A gift of $ 700,000 from Iran to Unesco to fight illiteracy has been announced in Paris.

In a message read by Mr. Rane Maheu, Director-General of Unesco, to the Organisation's Executive Board at the opening of its 72nd session, the Shah of Iran stated:

"I have decided to make available to Unesco the equivalent of one day's expenditure under our military budget in order to assist in the struggle against illiteracy in the world.... It is to be hoped that this decision, which for a developing country like mine represents a real sacrifice, will be followed by many others...." (*Unesco Features*).

27-5-1966. The Council of Scientific and Industrial Research has constituted an Indian languages unit to popularise science in Indian languages. The formation of the new unit follows a recent decision of the governing body of the CSIR. The new unit has started a Science Information Service to feed the language news-papers with information on latest developments in science both within and without India. The first issues of the fortnightly information bulletin has been brought out in three languages — Hindi, Marathi and Malayalam. The bulletin will soon be started in other languages.

With the formation of the new unit, the Hindi unit of the CSIR has been merged with the unit.

11-6-1966. The Third Meeting of the Chairmen of the State Sangeet Natak Akademis was held today at Raj Bhavan, Pachmarhi, Smt. Indira Gandhi, Chairman of the Central Sangeet Natak Akademi presided.

In her address to the members, Smt. Indira Gandhi made the following remarks: "The Akademi has a very special role to play in this country, and I must confess, that I don't think it has been playing that role as energetically or enthusiastically as it might have. While we have very old traditions of music and fortunately we have been able to keep them alive and creative, I mean this must be perhaps the only country where a person can be called educated even though he has no knowledge of the culture of his country. And I think these are some of the directions in which the Akademi can take a greater interest. The other point which is very dear to my heart is the preservation of folk music and folk dance. Already we find that it is changing. I am not against change and quite often change is inevitable. But it would be a pity to lose what we have, at least we should have it for the sake of record, our old folk songs, old dance forms and even, all our old costumes."

June 1966. Commenting on the World Sangha Council that held its session in Colombo for four days from 9th to 12th May 1966 the Editorial in *The Buddhist* (Poson Number) June 1966, No. 1 observes: "What we may ask may be the objects of the Council. It is centuries since the Sangha of the various parts of the Buddhist world met together to take stock of the position as regards the religion. Great changes in the social and political order have taken place in the various lands that make up the Buddhist World. Feudal conditions have given way to capitalist society. The old concepts regarding wealth and money have changed and though the vow of poverty yet remains an ideal and a necessary part of Buddhist monastic life it has become exceedingly difficult to live up to it. The truth of the matter is that the institutions of the Sangha are still rooted in an economic and social order which is no more and it has become therefore difficult to live up to the strict code of conduct laid down for the Bhikkhus. The solution appears to be not to abandon the code of discipline but to overhaul the organisation and make use of modern institutions which are part of the present social and economic order.... There is a great deal to be done to rehabilitate Buddhism and adapt it to the conditions of the present day."

1-7-1966. Translation of thirteen Western classics have recently been published by the Indian Academy of Letters (Sahitya Academy). These works, which include such famous titles as Tolstoy's *War and Peace*, Aristophanes' *Frogs*, Moliere's *Tartuffe*, Thoreau's *Walden*, Machiavelli's *The Prince* and Milton's *Areopagitica*, have been translated by leading Indian scholars into one or more of 7 Indian languages.

The translations have been made as part of Unesco's major project for promoting mutual understanding of the cultural values of East and West. Unesco's contribution was used for the purchase of high quality Swedish paper, shipped directly from Sweden to the Indian Academy of Letters.

Fifteen other European classics have previously been published in Indian languages under this programme, including works by Ibsen, Shakespeare and Goethe. (*Unesco Features*).

1-7-1966. Man's right to own and to earn from the land he tills was affirmed by the World Land Reform Conference which ended in Rome recently. The Conference carried out a two-week scrutiny of the relationship between the farmer and his land. The basic question was how to make this fundamental association more effective in producing more food, improving the farmer's life and income, bettering his community, and in contributing to the economic growth of his country. The meeting, first such held since a smaller one in 1951, was convened by the United Nations and the Food and Agriculture Organization, with the co-operation of the International Labour Organization. To it came some 300 officials, experts and consultants from 77 countries and territories.

The Chairman, Dr. Herman Santa Cruz of Chile, who is FAO's Assistant Director-General for Latin America, warned the closing session that if effective action was not taken soon to alleviate the "conditions of existing and impending hunger and extreme social inequality within and between nations, we may witness a cataclysmic social disruption in many parts of the world during the coming years, and the very peace of the world may be threatened."

In a resolution adopted unanimously, the conference called for further studies of land reform problems on a regional basis. (*Unesco Features*).

16-7-1966. Both American and German palaeontologists have come to the conclusion that life on earth has existed longer than hitherto assumed. The findings of the two groups of scientists are based on research done separately, though almost at the same time.

The research was carried out in the Swaziland system, the pre-Devonian rock formation of eastern, Transavaal, South Africa. Signs of organisms were found that must have existed more than 3,000,000,000 years ago, whereas previously, it was believed that the earliest living organisms went back about 2,000,000,000 years. The age of the earth itself is at present estimated by experts at about 4,5000,000,000 years. (*German News*).

20-7-1966. Beginning September 1966, the Oriya language will become part of the regular course offerings of an American University.

Speaking in Calcutta recently, Dr. Dan M. Matson of Cornell University noted that Oriya will be the fifth Indian language to be taught at the University of Wisconsin, alongside Hindi, Urdu, Kannada, and Telugu.

Dr. Matson, who has been in India since September 1964 as director of the Linguistic Research Programme at Puri, is engaged in research in Oriya to prepare textbooks for teaching the language to Americans.

According to Dr. Matson, there are a steadily growing number of Americans who are interested in learning about Orissa state and the Oriya speaking people. "These Americans", he added, "come from many different

fields — art, music, dance, architecture, history, sociology, anthropology, literature, and archaeology." And Orissa state, with its fascinating history and rich cultural traditions, has something to attract scholars in each of these disciplines, Dr. Matson pointed out.

Helping Dr. Matson in his work are two other linguists B. P. Mahapatra, whose mother tongue is Oriya, and Mrs. Matson, who like her husband, got most of her training at the University of Wisconsin. (*American Reporter*, Vol. XVI, No. 15, page 5).

24-7-66. Astrologers from Delhi and outside, currently in conference discussed ways and means to standardise the Hindu Panchang (Almanac).

The three-day conference, the first of its kind, has been convened by the Akhil Bhartiya Jyotish Sammelan with the standardisation of the Panchang as its main task.

A spokesman of the conference said that a majority were likely to favour the retention of the 'Surya Siddhanta' as the basis for calculations with such modification as might be considered advisable in the light of modern researches.

During the two days that it has already transacted business, the conference has adopted a resolution urging the establishment of an Institute of Astrology in Delhi, and another suggesting that a committee of astrologers be set up to advise on the maintenance of the Jantar Mantar in New Delhi.

July 1966. Shri Govind Karnick well-known master of Puppetry, passed away. During his career in Bharatiya Lok Kala Mandal, Udaipur, Rajasthan, he made a name for himself by his contribution to the art of Puppetry. It is partly due to his efforts that the Bharatiya Lok Kala Mandal received the highest award at the International Festival of Puppets held in Bucharest, Ramania last September. (*Sangeet Natak Akademi Monthly News Bulletin*, July 1966, No. 16).

1-8-1966. Just how exactly people spend their time on an ordinary working day — this is what sociologists in 11 countries of Europe and America are tying to find out in a survey launched by the European Coordination Centre for Research and Documentation in Social Sciences. The "Time Budgets" study, at it is called, is claimed by the Centre to be the most important piece of comparative sociological research so far undertaken.

Fourteen institutes of sociology are taking part in the survey which is directed by Prof. A. Szalai of the Budapest Academy of Sciences. Each of them has selected a large industrial town with not more than 200,000 inhabitants in one of the following countries: Belgium Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, France, Germany, Hungary, Peru, Poland, U.S.A., U..S.S.R., and Yugoslavia. An identical questionnaire is being given to a sample cross-section in each town to determine time spent in such activities as professional occupation, housework, evening classes, shopping, leisure and holidays, trade union activities, politics, travelling to work, sleeping, etc. More than

25,000 people have already replied to the questionnaire and some 5 million bits of information which they have provided are now being transferred to punched cards for computer analysis.

The survey is expected to be of great use to experts in transport, retailing, leisure activities and town-planning. An evaluation of the first results will be presented at the International Congress of Sociology which meets at Evian in September. (*Unesco Features*).

1-8--1966. An international Round Table is to be held in New Delhi from 26 September to 1 October on the role of Jawaharlal Nehru in the modern world. Organized by Unesco on the invitation of the Indian Government, the meeting will bring together eminent thinkers, scientists, educationists, writers and artists from all parts of the World.

The themes proposed for discussion are Nehru's role in the fight for national independence and international peace; his humanism; Nehru as a citizen of India and citizen of the world, and as a man of two cultures and one world; and Nehru's contributions to social justice and national development.

The inaugural meeting will be presided over by Nehru's daughter, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the present Prime Minister of India, and the opening speech will be made by Mr. Chagla, the Minister of Education. (*Unesco Features*).

6-8-1966. A toy factory will soon go up in the South-West of Moscow. It will be a modern enterprise occupying 40,000 square metres and will turn out every year nearly 200 million toys made of fabric, plastic, rubber, glass and metal. (*Moscow News*).

8-8-1966. The modern girl in India has the same ideas about marriage and married life as her elder sister of the Vedic age, it has been revealed in a survey conducted by the SNDT College for Women, Poona.

Principal (Mrs.) Sharayu Bai and Mr. Sudhir Vanarase, who made the study entitled "Attitude of College Girls towards Marriage,' say that "on the whole it is in line with the traditional ideas about marriage and married life even though they are fully acquainted with Western ideas of sex pleasure and individual freedom."

But, the survey points out, they are strongly opposed to the dowry system and do not set great store by caste as an important factor in the section of their life partners.

Asked to indicate the order of preference in the qualities they seek in bridegrooms, the girls have mentioned (1) education (2) health and (3) temperament. (This conclusion goes against the saying 'Kanya varayate rupam'). University observation gives the first three choices of American girls as real brains, cleanliness and good health. The researches also formulated the following conclusions. Modern Hindu girls think marriage is necessary, from the individual and social view point, for a full life.

While caste endogamy is not so strong in their minds as before it is not indicative of an "adolescent rebellion" against all social bonds. It only shows the changing attitude towards caste.

An attempt was made to investigate whether the education of the parents or their income made any difference to their ideas. No significant difference was observed.

For both arranged and love marriages, the girls consider parental support and consent highly desirable.

The two Professors chose the students of their own colleges as sample for the survey.

Out of 48 girls, 41 preferred egalitarian relationships as between husband and wife. Most of them also agreed that psychological equilibrium, cordial relations and mutual sacrifice are the most important conditions for creating a happy home. This suggests that Hindu girls do not regard sexual satisfaction as the primary condition for happiness.

10-8-1966. The Fifth Agama Silpa Vyasa Bharata Folklore Festival Sadas will be held for a week commencing from September 2 at Kalahasthi.

His Holiness Sri Sankaracharya of Kanchi organised the Sadas in 1962 at Elayathagudi with the object of enlivening the cultural traditions and to keep alive old spiritual values. The exposition of sacred lore on an extended scale helps to revive spiritual values and effectively arrest the decline in social and individual virtues. The age-long forms of cultural entertainments like the Puppet Show, the Shadow Play, Ottam Thullal, Burra Katha and others need a revival. These shows, besides providing good entertainment, ennoble the mind considerably, and therefore should be given good encouragement. The programmes of the Sadas held on the last four occasions also included discussions and discourses on Pancharatra, Vaikhanasa, Saiva and Saktha Agamas and Silpa Shastra by experts in the subjects from all parts of the country. Foreign scholars, well versed in these subjects, and a representative of the Dalai Lama also participated in the discussions.

An influential committee has been formed for the Fifth Sadas with Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao, Minister for Hindu Religious Endowments, Andhra Pradesh, as President. Mr. Balarami Reddi, Minister for Education, is one of the Vice-Presidents. An exhibition has been arranged as part of the Sadas.

12-8-1966. An ambitious plan for the preservation and popularisation of Vedic lore and learning has been drawn up by the Sanskrit Sansad of Rajasthan, according to Mr. Haribhau Upadhyaya, President of the Sansad. The plan envisaged the establishment of a Vedic library and a Vedic museum. The Vedic lore would be tape-recorded and there would also be a film on vedic rituals. The plan was estimated to cost Rs. 10 lakhs.

It was proposed to institute awards of Rs. 5,000 and Rs. 1,000 for the best and second best book on Vedic literature and culture.

The Sanskrit Sansad of Rajasthan came into being on August 23, 1961. Its first President was Mr. Niranjan Nath (now Law Minister of Rajasthan).

Mr. Upadhyaya became its President in July, 1964. In March, 1963, the Sansad set up a committee of scholars for suggesting ways and means to propagate Vedic knowledge and culture. This committee is headed by Dr. Sampurnanand, Governor of the State.

SECTION IX : REVIEWS

GITA GOVINDA OF JAYADEVA WITH KING MĀNANKĀ'S COMMENTARY—Edited by Kulkarni, Bharatiya Sanskriti Vidya Mandira, Ahmedabad, 1965, pp. xxiii, 131. Price Rs. 8.00.

Gita Govinda of Jaya Deva is famous throughout India and particularly in the South where it is set with ragas and sung in almost every town and village with great fervour and devotion. Its main theme is Radha's disturbed love for and final union with Lord Krishna. The commentary published herein gives only the literal meaning of the text without discussing its rhetorical or poetical aspects. It may be useful to the beginners. Dr. Kulkarni has to be congratulated for taking pains to critically edit the work with a learned introduction and indices.

S. S.

KĀVYAŚIKṢA OF ACHĀRYA VINAYACHANDRASŪRI—Edited by Hariprasad G. Sastri, Bharatiya Sanskriti Vidyāmandira, Ahmedabad, 1964, pp. xxiii, 197. Price Rs. 10.00.

Kavya Sikṣa or Kavi Sikṣa as it is in some places referred to in the body of the work gives Sikṣas or instructions for the composition of Kavyas. The author in addition to giving instruction about the various factors which contribute to Mahakavya deals extensively with numerous verbs along wih their roots and guṇas. In Chapter III he makes the reader conversant with the various subjects prevalent in ordinary life and various branches of learning so that we can use them in our compositions. He gives examples of good kavyas. He also presents a lexicographic exposition of homonyms (Anekarthas) arranged according to some principles. Examples of the various figures of speech are also given. Rasas and Bhavas are also dealt with. Though incomplete the work is very important like Kavyanuśasana of Hemachandracharya. The editor has to be congragulated for having taken much pains to bring to light such a good work from scanty materials.

S. S.

CATALOGUE OF SANSKRIT & PRAKRIT MANUSCRIPTS—Munirāja Śrī Punyavijayajī's Collection, Part II, Edited by Pt. Ambalal P. Shah; Bharatiya Sanskriti Vidyāmandira, Ahmedabad-9, pp. 11–484 to 849, 212–424. Price Rs. 40.00. Bharatiya Vidyāmandira Sanskriti, Ahmedabad.

This is a catalogue of mss. of Prabandhas, Satakas, Kavyas, Kathas, Subhaṣitas, grammar, Kośa, Kāmaśastra and Ayurveda, deposited in Muniraja Punyavijayaji's collections. There is also a collection of Prasastis, praises on Jain kings and Pandits at the end.

S. S.

ADMINISTRATION & MANAGEMENT OF BARRIO FINANCE —By Jose D. Oliver, A Community Development Research Council Publication, University of Philippines, 1966, pp. xvi, 123 with Appendices, Bibliography, Index and a List of Published Researches.

The present study examines the twin aspects of mobilisation and utilisation of the fiscal resources of selected Philippine Barrio in order to be able to analyse the effectiveness of the barrio government administration, particularly in the context of the passage of the Barrio charter of 1959 that had conferred autonomy on these local units in matters of programme formulation and execution.

It is observed in the study that this *dejure* delegation of powers of self-government to the barrios has however not resulted in a *de facto* use of the same for the weal of the community. This is mainly due to the absence of taxable resources in the barrios. Further the limited available revenue avenues are tapped by the national or municipal governments with the effect that the barrio officials hesitate to duplicate the tax base and incur the displeasure of the residents.

Of course, it is encouraging to find certain cases where competent officials of the barrios have initiated democratic processes in decision-making with respect to the utilisation of funds and thus succeeded in enlisting public co-operation and participation in developmental projects. Despite this ingenuity and skill, the barrio officials have, however, not been able to exploit their tax imposing powers since they do not like the idea of taxing their

own selves. Thus "there seems to be a feeling among the barrio officials to maintain the status quo in raising funds for the improvement of the barrio by drawing only from traditional sources such as the contribution from private sources" (p. 78).

In such a situation of an inflexible fiscal set up and an inherent disinclination on the part of the administration to explore new tax sources, it is difficult to expect any fruitful outcome of the autonomy offered to the local units of government. The study rightly directs the attention of the policy makers "to have a second look at the taxable resources of the barrios .... if they are to be prepared to assume bigger responsibilities in the development not only of their respective communties but also of the country as well." (p. 88). It is further pointed out that the barrio administrations should be trained to appreciate their fiscal duties. A systematic supervision of the barrio management has also been found to be imperative for a successful implementation of the rural development programme.

These are valuable conclusions that are valid for agrarian economics engaged in the task of community uplift through a process of regional economic planning.

R. THAMARAJAKSHI

GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION OF A MUNICIPALITY—By Buenaventura M. Villanueva, Patrocinios, Villanueva Elsa V. Perez, Caridad G. Cuenio,Juanita F. Pua; A Community Development Research Council Publication University of the Philippines, 1966, pp. xv, 136 with Index, list of Research projects, and list of published Research studies.

The book under review seeks to explore the mechanics of municipal government in Philippines in terms of the complex variables of political motivations, social aspirations, group pressures, organisational phenomena and fiscal procedures. In contrast to normative studies of municipal systems of government, this research report has struck the path of empirical investigation and deductive reasoning; and has performed the useful task of not merely identifying the deviations of actual performance from formal prescriptions but also of providing a set of practical guidelines for the maximum utilisation of the local resources against

the background of a carefully devised system of federal relationships.

On the basis of a comprehensive analysis of the organisation, functions and activities of a pilot municipality, the study has inferred the behaviour patterns of the citizens and the bureaucrats of the municipality. A unique finding has been the mutually reinforcing relationship between social demands and official response with the inevitable consequence of the absence of a rational approach to municipal administration. In that context, a clear insight is afforded into the potent influence of the local pressure groups on the governing process of the municipalities. A cryptic description of the state of affairs in the municipalities runs as follows: "These (*popular*) demands are unstructured, unpredictable and largely spontaneous. Pressure to satisfy these demands moreover is so insistent and heavy that they are well nigh irresistable. To succumb, furthermore, is a most critical prerequisite for political survival among politicians and harmonious and politically acceptable working relationships among the bureaucrats" (p. 116).

However the inelastic fiscal structure of the municipalities combined with the consequential high order of dependency of the local units of government on national tax allotments and aids, have hindred the urge on the part of the municipal administration to conform to popular demands. And yet, the circular constellation of forces with which the municipalities are caught might disable any successful rationalisation of the tax structure or an intense streamlining of the administrative procedures. As a result of this complicated nexus of sociological, fiscal and administrative factors, the political character of the municipal set up is "person oriented" rather than "programme oriented."

The study admirably concludes with the note that if the municipal government should be an effective mechanism for viable self-government, the challenge for an administrative reorientation and a fiscal modernisation should be accepted. These inferences are particularly relevant to the Indian context, where the objective of decentralised development and the phenomenon of growing urbanisation are bringing to the fore, the significant role of the local units of government in promoting national economic progress.

R. THAMARAJAKSHI

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